THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

SIR HENRY HOWORTH

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THE RUSHWORTH CROSS.

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THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THEODORE TO THE DEATH OF BEDE

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"THE LIVES OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND AUGUSTINE THE MISSIONARY"
"THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS" ETC. ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
MAPS, TABLES, AND APPENDICES

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GOLDEN DAYS

OF THE

EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

CHAPTER VI

ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION IN SPAIN, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND--THE SPANISH COUNCILS—THEODORE AND THE SYNOD OF HERUTFORD—LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF WULFHERE—QUARREL BETWEEN KING ECGFRID AND BISHOP WILFRID—APPEALS OF WILFRID TO ROME—LATER CAREERS AND DEATHS OF THEODORE AND WILFRID

We will now revert again to Archbishop Theodore. We have seen how he restored some order to the Kentish Church and nominated bishops to Rochester and to East Anglia, which last kingdom seems always to have recognised the metropolitan character of the Kentish see.

Two years after he had settled at Canterbury he was joined by his friend and companion Hadrian. He had been detained in France, as we have seen, by the major-domo Ebroin, who said he had found no serious complaint against him.[1]

[1] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 1.

On his arrival in England, Theodore, we are told, gave him the abbey of "the blessed Apostle Peter" (*sic*). Here again it seems strange that the abbot is said to have been appointed by the archbishop, and it seems to show that the monks at St. Augustine's were not Benedictines. On his appointment Benedict Biscop, according to Bede's *Lives of the Abbots*, 3 and 4, vacated the position and set out for Rome. William of Malmesbury praises his resignation of the abbey, and attributes it to his humility.[1] We shall have more to say about him presently.

The next notable act of Theodore as a metropolitan was the summoning of a synod at Herutford.

Before addressing myself to this, the first national synod ever held in England, it will be well to try and realise rather more closely the method of government of the Western Church at this time. The Pope looms so very large in the more recent history of the Latin Church that it is difficult to realise what a very limited rôle he filled, at the time we are dealing with, in the larger part of Western Christendom. He was no doubt acknowledged to be the senior bishop of the Latin Church; the first in rank, but still only as *primus inter pares*. The keystone of the ecclesiastical arch, he had little or nothing to do with the local administration, the discipline, or the life of the various provinces into which the Church was divided. The domination of the Arian Visigoths in Spain

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, p. 328.

and a large part of Southern Gaul, which was presently followed by the conquest of a large part of Italy itself by another Arian nation, the Lombards, effectually cut off Rome from the countries beyond the Alps. It is true that the Franks remained orthodox, but they were a barbarous stock, were living a long way off, and in regard to Church government and administration they took no heed of the papal injunctions and counsels in regard to reforms in discipline and morals. Both in Spain and Gaul the Church was, in fact, at this time, entirely autonomous and self-governed. Especially was this so in Spain.

It was in Spain that the local organisation of the Latin Church was in fact the most complete and its influence most potent.

The ecclesiastical *unit* there, as in the time of primitive Christianity after it had organised itself, was the bishop. The individual bishops were united into groups, each under a head-bishop, who was otherwise known as a metropolitan, from the fact that his seat was in the principal city of the province. The area controlled by a bishop was known as a parish (*parochia*) or diocese, while the geographical area controlled by a metropolitan was known as a province. In Spain, which included the southern part of Gaul known as *Gallia Narbonensis*, there were six ecclesiastical provinces, namely: (1) Carthagena, with its metropolis at Toledo and comprising nineteen suffragan bishops; (2) Tarraconensis, with its metropolis at Tarraco or

Tarragona, with fifteen suffragans; (3) Narbonensis, with its metropolis at Narbonne, and eight suffragans; (4) Baetica, with its metropolis at Spalis or Hispalis (*i.e.* Seville), and eight suffragans; (5) Lusitania, with ten suffragans and its metropolis at Emerita or Merida; and lastly, Galicia, with nine suffragans and its metropolis at Bracara, now called Braga. These figures are preserved in a kind of census, made by order of King Wamba (672–680), at a synod presided over by Quiricus the Archbishop of Toledo.[1] Gams names six additional sees not mentioned in the list just quoted, but which date from our period.

According to the early discipline, all metropolitans in Spain were equal and had equal privileges. They took rank from the date of their ordination, and an aggrieved person could appeal from one metropolitan to another.[2] Such a thing as an ultimate appeal to the Pope was quite unknown in Spain at this time. The ultimate appeal was always to the king.[3]

It gradually came about that the metropolitan of the royal capital acquired a special precedence, and he alone among the Spanish metropolitans is called archbishop by Isidore of Seville in his discussion of the hierarchy of the Church in Spain.

[1] See Magnin, *L'Église Wisigothique*, i. p. 133.

[2] Magnin, *op. cit.* i. 138, 139. It would seem, however, that a kind of nominal precedence next to Toledo was given to Seville, whose bishops had latterly been men of great mark, and to the prelates of which the popes had more than once sent the pall.

[3] See *Canons of the Ninth Council of Toledo.*

We must remember that at this time the title and style of archbishop was not as it became in later times, equivalent to that of metropolitan. The Archbishop of Toledo thus became a very potent personage, and to all intents and purposes was at this time the Primate of Spain, and his authority was in fact only controlled by that of the national councils generally held under his presidency. He had the right to crown the sovereign, and together with the neighbouring bishops he formed a sort of ecclesiastical court. His supreme privilege, however, would seem to have been that of nominating the Spanish bishops, which was contrary to the practice elsewhere, where they were either nominated by the king or elected by their dioceses.[1]

Within three months of his nomination each bishop was to present himself before his own metropolitan, unless the king ordered otherwise. This was doubtless to prevent unreasonable vacancies in the sees. Hefele is much embarrassed by the clause just cited, which seems quite clear, however, and he argues that the archbishop only had the right to ordain bishops who were really nominated by the Crown. St. Isidore expressly defined the position of "the Archbishop" (by which he no doubt meant the only Spanish archbishop,

[1] *Unde placuit omnibus pontificibus Hispaniae atque Galliae* (i.e. *Gallia Narbonensis*) *ut salvo privilegio uniuscujusque provinciae licitum maneat Toletano pontifici, quoscumque regalis potestas elegerit et jam dicti Toletani episcopi judicium, dignos esse probaverit, in quibuslibet provinciis in praecedentium sedibus praeficere praesules, et decedentibus episcopis eligere successores.*—Sixth Canon of the Twelfth Council of Toledo (681).

whose seat was at Toledo), in the words, "The archbishop occupies the place of the apostles, and presides as well over the metropolitans as over the other bishops" (*archiepiscopus tenet vicem apostolorum et praesidet tam metropolitanis quam episcopis caeteris*).[1] He treats him, in fact, as the Primate of Spain.

Besides being archbishop of all Spain, the great prelate at Toledo was also metropolitan of his own special province of Toledo. Let us now turn to the metropolitans. The title metropolitan, which has now become largely an honorary one, meant in the seventh century a very notable position: Isidore says that without their metropolitans the bishops of a province could do nothing. It was his duty to ordain them, in which he was helped by two assistants, and at such ordinations all the bishops of the province were to be present, under pain of excommunication. Occasionally, however, a bishop, by order of the king, was ordained outside his province, but he had to produce a testimonial from his own metropolitan and had then to present himself to him (under pain of excommunication), and to receive from him injunctions to observe *chastity, sobriety, and rectitude.* This address was called a *placitum*, and was made on behalf of the episcopate of the province. He had to fix the correct day for holding Easter, and his suffragans were to attend upon him at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas,

[1] Isidore, *Etymologica*, xii. chap. 4.

and at other times when some urgent cause required their help or when the king asked for their counsel. Sickness or very severe weather were the only excuses allowable for their absence, and they were in such cases to send an explanation, or risk excommunication. In cases of minor gravity the metropolitan was empowered to exercise disciplinary jurisdiction over a bishop without the concurrence of his suffragans, while appeals were made to him by priests who had grievances. When a bishop died the metropolitan became his executor. In the case of the death of a metropolitan his successor performed the same office. He summoned the provincial councils in the name of the king, fixed their date and place of meeting, and presided at them, while his archdeacon regulated the proceedings.[1] Metropolitans were much too powerful to admit at this time of their being selected by a popular vote of their suffragans, and their nomination was no doubt a royal prerogative.

Let us now turn to the administration of the Church in France, which was much the same as it was in Spain, only that the discipline was more loose and the general state of public morals and culture much lower, which was due largely to the want of any centralised authority in Church matters. In regard to its position towards Rome, the French Church of the seventh century was almost as much detached as that of Spain. It was only with the southern provinces that the Papacy

[1] Magnin, *op. cit.* 126–138.

carried on an irregular communication. The Vicariate of Arles, which had become a pious fiction in the sixth century, no longer existed, and the Pope addressed the individual or collective bishops or the kings directly. Pope Gregory the Great, as we have seen in a former work, appealed to them continually to put a stop to simony and the irregular election of bishops, and urged them to punish heretics and to forbid the Jews from holding Christian slaves; but his efforts were fruitless, and after his death the relations between Rome and France virtually ceased for a century. The Church in France became really autonomous, as that of Spain was, and it was only in the eighth century that the Papacy again actively interfered in the affairs of the French Church. Unlike Spain, however, there was no person in France answering to the Archbishop of Toledo, whose authority and prestige enabled him to unite the hierarchy under one head and to give the voice of the Church a corporate unity; nor were there national councils at this time in France meeting more or less frequently, as in Spain.

Each province was really independent under its own metropolitan, and took little heed of the doings of its neighbours. The metropolitans were in many instances very secular, ill-taught, and unsuited for their vocation. The number of Metropolitan provinces in France proper, excluding that of Narbonne, was fourteen,—they were Rheims, Rouen, Sens, Lyons, Bourges, Tours, Bordeaux,

Prov. Auxitana, Besançon, Vienne, Tarantaise, Arles, Aix, and Embrun. Each of these was governed by a metropolitan, who was nominally, perhaps, elected by the bishops of the province, but in reality appointed by the king.

In the halcyon days of the French Church, namely, the sixth century, a common faith and a common administration were ensured by the meeting of national councils, which were summoned in various episcopal cities. They were summoned, as in Spain, by the king, and he had a dominant influence on them. They met pretty regularly during the sixth century, and there was not much difficulty in conducting them. Difficulties naturally arose as the sectional differences of the various races and the local sovereigns increased in heat and temper, and meetings became very infrequent during the seventh century. The last one of which the Canons are preserved was that of Auxerre in 695. In France, as in Spain, the use of the style "archbishop" as designating a metropolitan only, became usual at a later date.

When we compare the state of things in the Churches of Spain and France with that of the Church in England in the seventh century, we shall find many notable differences. When Christianity was first introduced among the English, they were divided into several entirely independent and rival communities separated by continual feuds and wars. Each of these communities had a separate king, and presently each had an independent bishop

owning spiritual allegiance to no other prelate, either to a bishop in some other English kingdom or to one beyond the seas. Each diocese, therefore, was autonomous and self-governed. A large number of the bishops belonged to the Celtic rite and did not recognise the administrative authority of Rome, and the Roman tie was, in fact, only acknowledged by the clergy who constituted the mission of St. Augustine. Other English bishops who had secured their ordination in France, like Wini and Agilbert, no doubt held the same views in regard to the authority of Rome as the French episcopate (from which they derived their orders) did. With the Augustinian Mission it was entirely different.

Augustine and his monks were the immediate spiritual children of Pope Gregory. He had largely taught them what they knew. He had sent them, and he sustained them, and they naturally treated him as their father. There can be no doubt that, during the continuance of Augustine's mission, southern England was much more closely tied to Rome than any part of Western Europe. When Augustine was consecrated it was as a simple bishop, and Gregory's theory apparently was, that a simple bishop required the papal authority to enable him to act as a metropolitan. This was, of course, an innovation and unknown in primitive times. The deputed authority, in a way, made Augustine a papal vicar, and it was really as papal vicar that he ruled the Church of Kent. The authority was conveyed by sending him the pall,

and, as we have seen, Augustine acknowledged it by sending to Rome for instructions on matters he deemed serious. It was apparently in England that the new papal theory, which required that a metropolitan who claimed authority to consecrate other bishops should have it certified by receiving a pall from the papal see, was first introduced. It seems plain that those Archbishops of Canterbury who did not obtain palls did not ordain other bishops, and that it was for lack of this implied authority that Augustine's mission came to an end. It is notable that Bede should apply the term "Archbishop" to the Bishops of Canterbury, for the title was not generally used at the time elsewhere. The first time he uses it is in connection with the consecration by Augustine of Mellitus and Justus. It is possible that he uses the term for the period preceding the arrival of Theodore by anticipation; on the other hand, as the only metropolitan in Britain (for the Celts did not have any), it is very likely that, like his brother of Toledo, Augustine may also have been dubbed Archbishop.

When a new line of English bishops was started, it was again with a missionary from Rome, namely, Theodore, who brought his pall with him, which was no doubt meant to constitute him the metropolitan of the whole English Church. The ground had been prepared for such a position by the active propaganda of allegiance to Rome by Wilfrid, who had secured the adhesion to it of the great northern kingdom of Northumbria, and also

a friendly attitude towards it by the king of the Mercians. It would seem, in fact, that now the Celtic cause was more or less lost, there was no one in the English Church who was really ready to resist the creation of an English hierarchy subordinate to the Archbishop of Canterbury and directly in touch with Rome. Theodore's tact completed the work. As we have seen, he had not been here very long before he summoned a National Synod of the English Church, the first one hitherto held in England, over which he presided.

It is from Spain we derive the most detailed notice of these National Councils, as it was there the Church was most elaborately organised. In Spain such Councils were named (from the royal capital and the seat of the Spanish archbishop where they were held) "Councils of Toledo." It was these Councils which really organised the Visigothic Church, and they ruled it in the exceptionally efficient way that it was famed for.

They became so potent that they often intervened in other questions than merely theological ones, and in no country in Western Europe were the general assemblies of the Church so potent as in those of Toledo. Some of the Toledan Councils were provincial only, that is, were confined in their operation to the metropolitan district of Toledo; such were the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 14th. On the other hand, during the Visigothic domination, the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, and 17th were National Councils to which the

bishops of all the Spanish Monarchy were summoned, and which were then known as General Councils.[1] These General Councils in Spain were summoned by the king. It is curious to note that his prerogative in this behalf was insisted upon by the bishops even more than by the kings themselves. He was, in fact, treated as a quasi-sacred person who alone united the community together by an indissoluble bond.[2] The Pope himself, when he wrote officially, addressed the king and not the Spanish bishops. It was thus Leo the Second acted when he wanted the Spanish bishops to concur in the finding of the sixth Council, namely, the third of Constantinople. The prerogative here named was taken over from the Roman Emperors, who had also exercised it.

There was no fixed time for the meeting of such National Councils. They were summoned when the necessity arose. From 589–633 there was no National Council in Spain. From 633–653 there were five. From 653–681 none again, while between 681 and 701 there were six. They met in one of the larger Toledan churches, for the most part in the basilica of St. Peter and Paul. It was called the Pretorian basilica, probably because it was attached to the palace ; at other times they met in that of the Virgin Mary ; at others, again, in that of St. Leocadia, near the city. They were in most cases presided over by the Archbishop of Toledo, but one at least, the fifth (636), was presided over by Isidore, Bishop of Seville, a position he prob-

[1] See Magnin, *op. cit.* 51 and notes. [2] Magnin, *op. cit.* 52.

ably was invited to fill from the fact of his imposing personality. The king was generally present. The bishops who attended were assisted by priests and deacons. After the year 589 the Councils were also attended by abbots. Laymen in larger numbers were also permitted to be present, while sometimes even the grandees of the palace added their signatures to those of the clergy in "the Acts." This doubtless arose in consequence of the Councils having in many cases discussed affairs of State. It would appear, however, that when purely ecclesiastical matters were being debated they withdrew. The meeting of the Synod was a very ceremonious and dignified affair. It was summoned in spring, "when the grass was green and the fodder fresh." Before sunrise, the church where the meeting took place, was cleared, and all the doors were closed but one, by which the porters were to introduce those to be admitted. The bishops entered first and took their seats in the order of the dates of their ordination. Then came the priests who were duly qualified to take part in the deliberations. Thirdly, the deacons who had the entrée. The seats of the bishops were arranged in a circle, the priests were ranged behind them, and the deacons in front of them and facing.[1] All having taken their places, the king entered with his court, bowed to the bishops, asked for their prayers, made a short speech, and presented a *tomus* or volume containing a syllabus or pro-

[1] Magnin, *op. cit.* 62, 63.

gramme of the subsequent proceedings, which were carefully prepared beforehand. Thereupon the bishops returned thanks to God, and apparently sang the Gloria and asked blessings for the king. The lay members and notaries were then introduced and the meeting began. On the motion of the archdeacon of the metropolitan see, they all knelt in silent prayer, followed by a prayer from one of the oldest bishops. They then, at the instance of the archdeacon, rose again and listened while a deacon, vested in his alb, read the Canons (*Codex Canonicum*) relating to the holding of Councils. Silence was rigidly prescribed at the meetings, except for the speakers, and the members were forbidden to indulge in confused murmurs, noisy interruptions, tedious conversations, laughter, or other noises. Those who wilfully interrupted were expelled and excommunicated for three days.

The president then asked the fathers to make such proposals as they deemed opportune: and he always summed up one discussion before they turned to another. If a cleric or layman outside asked to speak in regard to some grievance, the archdeacon asked the fathers to permit him to be heard. No bishop could leave the Council without permission until the sitting had closed, nor could the Council adjourn until all the questions at issue had been disposed of. Each of the fathers then signed "the Acts," which had been drawn up by the notaries. If the Council terminated peaceably and quietly it was thought that God had

come to the assistance of his pontiffs. The sittings rarely lasted for more than one day. The king's rôle in consenting and approving of what was done was an important one, and notably in quasi-civil matters, *e.g.* in the legislation against the Jews, but it was not confined to them. Thus at the fifth Council of Toledo, Chintila promulgated a law on the celebration of litanies, the execution of which he remitted to his great officers. Again, Erviga prescribed that every pronouncement should be consistent with the laws of the State, "*Magna salus . . . conquizitur si haec synodalium decreta gestorum . . . ita inconvulsibilis nostrae legis valido oraculo firmentur . . . ut praesentis hujus legis nostrae edicto ab aemulis defendatur.*"[1] The chief provisions of the general Councils were, however, disciplinary and not doctrinal. Notable exceptions were the twenty-three anathemas propounded at the third Council of Toledo against the Arians, while in the fifteenth Council there was a defence (accompanied by proofs) of the attitude of Julian of Toledo in regard to the third Œcumenical Council of Constantinople. At other Councils there was recited a profession of faith. It was generally the Constantinopolitan, with the addition of the *filioque* clause. Outside the pale of religion altogether, we find the National Councils of the Church also propounding reforms of the civil law, and curing the injustice which had followed from its defects. Among the two hundred canons

[1] Magnin, *op. cit.* 67–69.

issued by the Spanish Synods, more than thirty deal with civil matters. The fifteenth Council (688) was entirely devoted to matters of State, so were one half the provisions of the thirteenth. These included the ceremonies at the election of the kings, and the several rôles which the grandees and the bishops were to take on such occasions; the conditions necessary in a candidate for the throne, etc. etc. It was also the practice for the king when engaged in some difficult or hazardous project to summon a National Council and to take its advice and secure its approval of what was to be done. What is chiefly noticeable about "the Acts" of these famous Spanish Councils is the complete absence of reference to the papal see, and the presence of the king and his authority everywhere.

"The Acts" in question required his confirmation to make them valid, and he signed them first before the bishops. These notable gatherings were really high courts of justice as well as ecclesiastical assemblies. The theory of Church and State was never more completely put in practice. One of its tendencies was, no doubt, to secularise the minds and thoughts of the great ecclesiastics, and to make them able politicians rather than saintly men, and too often to lead them to take sides with those in power, and to be too little careful of their rôle as protectors of the poor. On the other hand, it must be remembered that in the days we are writing about the spheres of the Church and of the Civil power had not been determined

as they have in later times. People still lived, says M. Magnin, among the traditions of antiquity, when an equal reverence was paid to both powers, to God and to Cæsar. The king was not a mere ruler, but a sacred personage, the anointed of God, whom it was sacrilege to punish or injure, which was the theory of the Old Testament. The priests, again, were still looked upon as they had been by the pagan ancestors of the Visigoths, namely, as the possessors of exalted civil rights, in regard to prescribing the degrees of guilt and the measure of punishment in offenders. Nor could the wise forget how the Church alone had stood between the half-savage invaders and the Romanised peasants, and had preserved some form of justice and equity when the brutal ways of the unrestrained Goths would have overwhelmed them. It was the clergy in their councils who, in fact, introduced and discussed new laws and qualified old ones with more equitable tendencies, and who kept up the practice of continuity in administration through the constant and violent changes suffered by the throne, changes which were largely due to the elective character of the Visigothic monarchy. It was also at these councils that a corporate public criticism of, and protest against, the excesses of tyrannical sovereigns' rules of conduct alone existed, and that high standards of regal duty were defined. It must also be remembered that apart from the king and his rude and cruel and barbarous nobles there was no *merely* civil power to perform the functions in question, which were,

therefore, necessarily performed by the Church. These great councils naturally tempered the "Byzantine" despotism of an autocratic rule, and, as Duchesne says, preserved some traces of representative institutions, and a good deal of humanising ethics, of protection for the weak, of a regular instead of a merely arbitrary procedure, and of a mitigation of excessive burdens, and created an atmosphere where justice for all was at least cherished as a theory. Guizot has remarked how the Visigothic laws, as modified by the great councils, were pervaded by theories entirely strange to the barbarous notions of the other German tribes, which, no doubt, filtered into it from the majestic code of old Rome. These laws differed from those of the other invaders in that they had in view the interests of others besides those of the conquering race, and really included all the inhabitants of Spain in their grasp. Among the other Teutonic races every man had a specific value, and there was a different tariff for each class; not so among the Visigoths, with whom all were equal before the law. Instead of the barbarous methods, of compurgation and judicial combat, offences were tried by the testimony of witnesses. All this led to the fusion of the Visigoths with the conquered race, and the forming of a homogeneous people long before it was known elsewhere. This was assisted by the large part which the Hispano-Romans (who were more educated) naturally took in the great Councils. The process led to the softening of

manners and the raising of the standards of public morals to a height they had never reached before, and from which they sadly fell off in later times. Lastly, the Councils had the effect of creating a unity of faith and purpose in the Spanish Church which was unknown in other western lands, and notably, as we have seen, in Gaul, and which it was the continual aim of the Spanish episcopate to preserve intact. On the other hand, it probably led to the fierce opposition among all classes to schism and heresy which characterised the Church of the Peninsula. This is well marked in the canons of various councils; take, for instance, the second canon of the fourth Council of Toledo. *Nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis sacramentis agamus, ne quaelibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismaticis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalis varietas Ecclesiarum.*[1]

Let us now return to the Synod of Herutford. The name Herutford, spelt thus, as it is by Bede in his Latin work, is spelt Heortford in the Anglo-Saxon version of that book. It has been generally thought to represent Hertford, but this has been disputed by at least one ingenious and learned person, Mr. Kerslate, who has given some plausible reasons for another view. He argues that it was not held at Hertford, but in the neighbourhood of Cliffe-at-Hoo, on the Thames, which he has shown, with great probability, was the site of Cloveshoe

[1] See Magnin, *op. cit.* 67–96; Duchesne, *Hist. Anc. de l'Eglise*, ii. 668; Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe*, 3rd ed., 89 and 90.

where the official meeting-place of later national councils was afterwards fixed, and close to which we find the name Herodham mentioned in a charter of 779.[1] This suggestion has considerable probability about it, and I have therefore retained Bede's orthography of Herutford instead of changing it to Hertford in describing the Synod held there by Theodore.

Bede tells us that in the third year of King Ecgfrid, *i.e.* in 673,[2] "Theodore summoned a synod of bishops and many other teachers of the Church who loved and were acquainted with the canonical statutes of the Fathers."[3] This meeting was remarkable as being the first national Synod of the English Church that was ever held. Bede records the names of the bishops who were present, but omits those of the other teachers (to whom he refers), and which we should so much like to have known.

Archbishop Theodore's introductory address to the meeting reads as follows: "In the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who reigns for ever (*regnante in perpetuum*) and governs His Church, it was thought right that we should assemble, according to the custom of the venerable canons, to treat about the necessary affairs of the Church (*de necessariis ecclesiae negotiis*). We met

[1] Kerslate, *Supremacy of Mercia*, 49–51.

[2] Bazonius and other writers calculated that this meant in the year 672. They have been shown by Pagi to be mistaken. Their mistake having arisen from having overlooked that Bede, as he states in his work (*de Temporibus*, cap. 48, Giles, vi. 214), commences the calculation of his indictions from the 24th of September.

[3] *Bede*, iv. 5.

on the 24th day of September, the first indiction, at a place called Herutford." Then follow the names: "I myself, Theodore, although unworthy, Bishop of the Church of Canterbury (*quamvis indignus . . . Doruernensis ecclesiae episcopus*), sent by the apostolic see (*ab apostolica sede destinatus*); our co-bishop and most revered brother Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles, by his delegates; with him our brother and fellow-priest (*consacerdos*) Wilfrid, Bishop of the Northumbrian people, by his proper legates or proxies (*per proprios legatarios*); as also our brothers and fellow-bishops, Putta, Bishop of the fortress of the Kentmen, which is called Rochester (*episcopus castelli Cantuariorum, quod dicitur Hrofescaestir*); Leutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons; and Wynfrid, Bishop of the province of the Mercians."[1] It is a notable fact that Wilfrid and Bisi should not have been present at this Synod, and should only have been vicariously represented there. Bisi's absence was due, no doubt, to his age and infirmity. The other bishops are apparently named in the order of their seniority, as marked by the date of their consecration, and as prescribed by the eighth canon of this very Synod. The case of Wilfrid was perhaps an exception, his precedence not being dated from his ordination, but from the time of his definite appointment to York, which was probably after the consecration of Bisi.[2] Inasmuch as the Synod did not prescribe any new doctrine or practice, but only affirmed adherence

[1] *Bede*, iv. 5. [2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. p. 121, note b.

to the old administrative canons of the Church, it is possible but not probable that all those who attended it subscribed its "Acts." Smith, in his edition of Bede, has an interesting appendix (XVII.) on the clerics others than bishops who took part in it, whom Bede refers to as *Magistri Ecclesiae plures.* He instances Abbots Hadrian and Benedict Biscop as types of the men who are likely to have been present, but Biscop had probably then left England. He points out that at this time the inferior clergy were already permitted to attend Synods, as appears from the fourth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo held in 633, which, as we have seen, contains an interesting picture of the method of holding such Synods at that time. They would hardly, however, be allowed to vote.

It is interesting to read how Theodore had a notary called Titillus by him, who took down the report of the meeting at his dictation. He was doubtless a skilled Roman official, whom the archbishop had brought with him, and who could no doubt draw up contracts and conveyances of property, and thus made it possible to have a regular system of documentary titles to land.

The very fact of holding this Synod shows how much the administrative side of the Church's work had progressed under the new archbishop, whose prudent counsels are no doubt to be noted in the subject-matters of discussion. These were not likely to arouse unnecessary polemics, and were limited to subjects already decided at various great

Councils of the Church, and by various notable Church doctors. They accordingly secured the adherence of a unanimous verdict of our National Church in regard to matters otherwise rather difficult to deal with by a young community, working in a society so recently pagan, such as the marriage laws, and the introduction of greater uniformity of usage in ritual matters.

One thing which has been a good deal remarked upon has been the absence of Wilfrid from the Synod. It may perhaps be explained by a simple cause. The Synod in question was no doubt that of the metropolitan province to which the summoning archbishop belonged. Only one such province, however, then existed in England, namely, that of Canterbury, but it may well be that Wilfrid in a certain sense deemed himself a metropolitan, although he had not received the pall. St. Gregory had intended the see of York to become a metropolitan one, and Paulinus who held it had possibly been an archbishop and perhaps received the pall.[1] It is not improbable that Wilfrid thought it inconsistent with his dignity, which was great, to attend the Synod and to act as suffragan to one whom he would consider was only equal with himself, and of whom it may well be he was jealous. He, however, sent deputies or proxies there.

Two other facts besides the absence of Wilfrid are notable about the list of names above mentioned. First, the absence of Wini, the Bishop of London,

[1] *Vide* Howorth, *Augustine the Missionary*, 126.

who was probably excluded because he had obtained his see by simony, and, secondly, the fact that no mention is made of any secular ruler or other lay person having been present. It seems to have been a purely ecclesiastical Synod for deciding purely ecclesiastical issues.

It is further curious that there is no reference in the report of the Synod either to the Pope or to Rome. They are completely ignored.

Having described the prelates who were present at the Synod, Theodore—(and Bede seems to quote from some document written by the archbishop)—went on to say, "When we were all met together, and were sat down in order, I spoke thus, 'I beseech you, most dear brethren, that we may all treat in common about our faith, to the end that whatsoever has been decreed and defined by the holy and reverend fathers, may be invariably observed by all.'" Bede adds that in addition to this he spoke at some length on the unity of the Church and the preservation of charity. As Dr. Bright says, it is curious that there was no public profession of faith. After finishing his introductory address, he asked each one in turn whether he consented to observe the things which had been previously canonically decreed by the fathers, to which his fellow-bishops (*consacerdotes*) cordially assented. He then produced to them the said book of canons (*eundem librum canonum*). This was no doubt the collection of ancient canons made by Dionysius Exiguus in the opening of

the sixth century, which Theodore had probably brought with him from Rome, and which included the Apostolic canons, and those of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardica, and the African code.[1] Theodore then publicly pointed out ten chapters in the same which he had selected for consideration, because he knew them to be of the most vital importance for them, and he entreated that these might now be more specifically and definitely approved by them.

Then follow the ten selected chapters from the collection of canons which had been referred to by him, and are specifically described as follows :—

I. That we all keep in common the holy day of Easter on the Sunday after the 14th day of the first month.

(This was to exclude the 14th day of the month from any list of Easter Sundays.[2])

II. That no bishop should intrude into the *parochia* or diocese of another, but be satisfied with the government of the people committed to him.

(This was from the 14th and 36th of the apostolical canons, reapproved in the 13th of Antioch, the 1st of Sardica,[3] the 2nd of Constantinople, and the 48th of the African code.[4])

[1] Bright, 277 and 278.

[2] It was taken from the first canon of the Council of Antioch (H. and S., iii. 119).

[3] *Id.* [4] Bright, 278.

III. That it should not be lawful for any bishop in any manner to disturb duly constituted monasteries in anything (*in aliquo inquietare*), nor to deprive them forcibly of any of their possessions.

Bright points out how the privileges thus given to monasteries had been extended since the 24th of Chalcedon, which strongly asserted the jurisdiction of bishops over monasteries[1] and merely restrained by canons those who permitted the secularisation of monasteries once dedicated by the consent of a bishop.[2]

IV. That monks should not on their own initiative, and without their abbot's consent, move from one monastery to another, but should continue in the same obedience which they had promised at the time of their conversion (*tempore suae conversionis*).

(This was based on the 4th and 23rd of Chalcedon. Conversion, as Dr. Bright says, here means the forsaking of the secular life for the monastic.)

V. That no cleric forsaking his own bishop should wander about, nor be entertained anywhere without letters of commendation from his own prelate (*sui praesulis*). If, in spite of this ordinance, he should be anywhere

[1] *Vide* Canon IV. [2] Bright, 278–9.

entertained, he and his entertainer were both to be excommunicated.

(This is from 15th and 34th of the apostolic canons, the 41st and 42nd canons of the Council of Laodicea, the 3rd and 7th of Antioch, the 23rd of Chalcedon, the 16th of Sardica, the 39th of Pope Leo, and the 105th of the African synods.)

VI. That foreign bishops and clerics when travelling should be content with the hospitality offered to them, and that none of them should exercise any priestly functions without leave of the bishop in whose diocese (*parochia*) they happened to be.

(This is based on the 13th apostolical canon and the 11th of the Council of Sardica.[1])

VII. That a synod should be summoned twice a year, but, if circumstances should prevent this, it was to meet at least annually on the 1st of August of each year, and the meeting-place was to be at the place called Clofeshoch or Cloveshoe.

(Comp. the 36th apostolic canon, Nicholas the Third, the 21st of Antioch, the 19th of Chalcedon, and the 18th and 94th of the African synods.)

[1] Bright, 280.

This official place of meeting, according to Mr. T. Kerslate, is to be identified with Cliffe-at-Hoe, near Rochester, the peninsula of Hoe or Hoo was a convenient base for the Mercian supremacy in Kent, and also near at hand for Theodore. He observes that this Kentish peninsula would be very accessible from Tilbury on the other side of the Thames.[1] Councils met at Cloveshoe in 742 and 747.

VIII. That no bishop through mere ambition should take precedence of another, but the precedence of each should be decided by the date and order of his ordination. (See the 86th of the African canons.[2])

IX. It was generally agreed (*in commune tractatum est*) that the number of bishops should be increased proportionately to the number of the faithful, but this matter was left over for future regulation.

The fact is that, as Bright says, and as we shall see later, Theodore could not carry his suffragans with him in this reform, which, however, came presently; it has been suggested that the proposal for division of dioceses, (*parochiae*) gave rise to the suggestion that Theodore, in fact, introduced the parochial system.[3] This was not so, as we shall see later on.

X. In regard to marriages, it was enacted that

[1] Kerslate, *Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*, pp. 27 and 28. See also Bright, 280 and 281, note.

[2] Mansi, iii. 789; Bright, 281.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 122; Bright, 281, note 3.

none should be permitted except those of legitimate wedlock (*legitimum conubium*). None were to be permitted to commit incest. None, as the holy Gospel teaches, should leave his wife save on account of fornication. If any man should put away his wife who had been lawfully joined to him in matrimony, and still wished to remain a Christian (*si Christianus esse recte voluerit*), let him take no other wife, but remain in his then condition or return to his legitimate wife (*aut propriae reconcilietur conjugi*).

(This last clause, according to Dr. Bright, refers to cases where a man had put away his wife without the justification of her fornication.)

To these chapters it was thought fit, says Theodore, that every one of us (*unusquisque nostrum*) should add his confirmation of the particulars therein defined, with our proper hands, "which definite judgment," he adds, "was dictated to and written down by my notary Titillus," and he ends by declaring the exclusion from sacerdotal functions and from "our society" (*nostra societate*) of any bishop who attempted to contravene or infringe the decrees thus attested. "May the grace of God," he concludes, "preserve us in safety, living in the unity of the Holy Church."[1]

About this time two of the states of South

[1] *Bede*, iv. 6.

Britain lost their rulers, one of them, Coinwalch, the king of Wessex, had had, as we have seen, a tempestuous life.

Bede does not tell us the actual date of his death. He only refers to it incidentally. Thus in his *History of the Abbots*, ch. 4, he says that Benedict Biscop on his return from his fourth visit to Rome paid a visit to Coinwalch to confer with him, as they had previously been close friends, and he had received favours from him. It was while he was there that Coinwalch suddenly died (*ipso eodem tempore inmatura morte praerepto*). Again, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, he only has an allusive reference to it, thus: *Cumque mortuus esset Coinwalch, quo regnante idem Leutherius episcopus factus est.* The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Florence put his death in 672.[1] He apparently left no issue, and after his death his wife Sexburga (who is not mentioned by Bede) is said, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, to have reigned one year.[2] Ethelwerd says she reigned twelve months.[3] Florence makes the same statement, quoting the *Chronicle*. He adds that, according to Bede, the kingdom was then divided among petty kings (*subreguli*) for ten years.[4] According to Roger of Wendover, and Matthew of Westminster, two very late authors, Sexburga was driven away by the magnates of the realm, who were unwilling to fight under a woman.

[1] Two alleged grants of land by Coinwalch (Birch, vol. i., Nos. 26 and 27) are forgeries. See Introduction.

[2] *Vide sub an.* 672.

[3] *M.H.B.*, 506.

[4] *M.H.B.*, 533; see *Bede*, iv. 12.

There now followed a period of anarchy in Wessex for several years. The petty kings who struggled for the realm, and are called subreguli in Bede's Latin version of the *Ecclesiastical History*, are named ealdormen in the Saxon version. He does not give us their names. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that in 674 Æscwine succeeded to the West Saxon kingdom, and reigned for three years. It calls him the son of Cenfus, the son of Cenferth, the son of Cuthgils, the son of Ceolwulf, the son of Cynric, the son of Cerdic.[1] Florence of Worcester, in the text of his *Chronicle*, quotes this statement. In the genealogy of the Anglo-Saxon kings in his appendix, however, he says that, according to the work he refers to as the *Dicta Regis Alfredi*, it was Cenfus, the father of Æscwine, who succeeded Sexburga and reigned two years.[2] The former statement is more probable.

A few words now about Kent. Bede tells us that Ecgberht, king of Kent, died in July of the same year as the Synod of Herutford, that is, in 673.[3] He left two sons, Eadric[4] and Wihtred.[5] They were, however, probably both young, and Ecgberht was, in fact, succeeded by his brother Hlothaire,[6] who reigned for twelve years. It was during his reign that Kent, as we shall see, was so terribly devastated by Æthelred, king of Mercia.

Let us now revert to Theodore. Bede tells us

[1] *Sub an.* 674. [2] See *M.H.B.*, 534 and 641. [3] *Op. cit.* iv. 5.
[4] *Bede*, iv. 26. [5] *Id.* v. 23. [6] *Id.* iv. 26.

that, about 674, he deprived Wynfrid, Bishop of Lichfield, of his office "deservedly, for some act of disobedience." This, I take it, was a notable departure from precedent and an encroachment on what had previously been the canonical practice, which required a bishop to be tried by a Synod before he could be deposed. Stevenson suggests that it was because of Wynfrid's refusal to assent to his diocese being divided. It seems to me improbable that Theodore, autocratic as he may have been, should have deposed a bishop from his see for no other offence than his opposition to that see being divided, nor did he proceed to divide it immediately on Wynfrid's deposition. It will be remembered that Theodore had himself appointed Wynfrid.

In Wynfrid's place the archbishop put Saxwulf, who, as we have seen, had been the builder and first Abbot of Medeshamstede in the country of the Gyrvii, afterwards called Burch (*i.e.* of Peterborough). "Wynfrid," adds Bede, "returned on his deposition to his old monastery at Ad Baruae,[1] in Lincolnshire, and there ended his life in holy conversation." He did not spend all his time in retirement, however, for we read that in the year 678 he was travelling in Neustria, perhaps on a visit to Rome, when Ebroin, the major-domo, heard of it, and having mistaken his name for that of Wilfrid, whom he greatly detested, he cruelly maltreated him, stripped him of his clothes and other property, and killed some of his attendants, all being the

[1] *Bede*, iv. 6.

result of a mistake in a single syllable, or rather letter, in their names. Æddi says, *Errore bono unius syllabae seducti*;[1] William of Malmesbury says, *Luit ergo ille ambiguitatem vocabuli*;[2] while Fridegode says, *Tantum monogrammate lusus.*[3]

About the year 675,[4] Theodore appointed Earconwald to be the Bishop of the East Saxons, with his see at London. He succeeded the simoniacal Bishop Wini, who probably either died in the same year, or (according to Rudborne, as we have seen) retired to Winchester as a penitent three years before his death.[5]

Earconwald, we are told in his life by Jocelyn, was a disciple of Mellitus, Bishop of London.[6] In the life of his sister Æthelberga they are made the children of a certain king called Offa, of whom we know nothing. I have made another suggestion in the note at the end of this chapter. He was said to have been born at Stallington, in Lindsey.[7]

We must now continue the story of Mercia.

Like most of the great rulers of this time, Wulfhere's latter days were overclouded and his power was much diminished. His fall was as rapid as his rise was remarkable. It is indeed a feature of early Saxon history how completely one disastrous defeat seems to have shattered a strong power. In the present case the blow was struck by Ecgfrid, the son of Oswy, who, after winning a remarkable victory against the Picts, as

[1] *Op. cit.* chap. 25. [2] *G.P.*, 221. [3] Line 656.
[4] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. p. 121, note b. [5] *Ib.*
[6] Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 293. [7] See Stubbs, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, ii. 177.

we shall see later on, turned upon the great imperator Wulfhere. The account occupies only a few words in Bede, who refers to it as a mere incident in his notice of the appointment of Eadhaed as Bishop of the Lindissi. He tells us that Ecgfrid, having defeated and driven away Wulfhere, separated the province of Lindissi from those of the Mercians and the Southern Angles, and gave it to Eadhaed, who had accompanied St. Chad when the latter went to be ordained. This was the first occasion when Lincolnshire had a bishop of its own. Saxwulf, who had previously held it jointly with the provinces of the Mercians and the Middle Angles, still retained the two latter.[1]

In the year 675, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Wulfhere had a struggle at "Bedanhefade" with Æscwine, king of the West Saxons. This is not mentioned by Bede, who puts his death, after a reign of seventeen years, in the same year.[2] He left no descendants. Florence of Worcester says of him that he was the first of the Mercian kings to adopt Christianity, and that he destroyed the worship of devils among all his people. In referring to his death, he uses the curious rhetorical phrase, "*ad Uranica regna migravit.*"[3]

Let us now return to Northumberland and its King Ecgfrid. "In August 678," says Bede,[4] "a star which is called a comet (*stella quae dicitur cometa*) appeared and remained for three months,

[1] *Bede*, iv. 12.
[2] *Op. cit.* v. 24.
[3] *Op. cit.*, sub an. 675.
[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 12.

rising in the morning and shooting out a radiant flame like a pillar, and the same year King Ecgfrid had a serious quarrel with his Bishop Wilfrid." In this the latter adopted an altogether intolerable attitude, governed almost entirely by his proud, arrogant temperament and his unreasoning fanaticism in matters relating to the sexes. Ecgfrid had married Ætheldrytha, or St. Audrey, one of the pious daughters of Anna, king of the East Anglians. She had previously been married to another husband who was a very grand personage (*primo alteri viro permagnifico . . . data*).[1] In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede says he was a prince of the Southern Gyrvii, named Tondbercht, who gave her the Isle of Elge (*i.e.* Ely) as a marriage gift, and died a short time after (*post modicum temporus*). She was then given in marriage to the Northumbrian king. Her second marriage gift, as we have seen, was the district of Hexhamshire.[2] In both cases she refused to concede marital rights to her husband, and remained a virgin. Although she had now been married twelve years to Ecgfrid, she sturdily maintained her quite irrational attitude, which Dr. Bright very mildly speaks of as the reverse of wifelike. Bede says he was himself informed of this by Wilfrid, who had known her well. Bede calls it preserving the perpetual glorious integrity of virginity (*perpetua mansit virginitatis integritate gloriosa*). According to Wilfrid, as reported by Bede, the king offered him lands and large gifts of

[1] Bede, "de sex aet., etc.," *M.H.B.*, 99. [2] *H.E.*, iv. 19.

money if he would persuade her to pay the marriage duty, for, he said, he knew she loved no man so much as she loved himself. Besides Wilfrid's statement, Bede had his own supplementary test of her virginity, which sounds odd to our ears. It was dependent on the fact that her body remained uncorrupted after her death. This was a thing which could only have occurred, as he alleges, in the case of one who had not been defiled by familiarity with man (*quia virili contactu incorrupta duraverit*), a phrase in which we see the ascetic monk in his most rigid attitude towards an institution by which the continued preservation of the human race is alone secured.

She had long and earnestly pressed the king to allow her to discard worldly cares (*saeculi curas relinquere*) "and be permitted to serve her only king, who was Christ." Having at length with difficulty prevailed, she went as a nun into the convent of the Abbess Æbba Ecgfrid's aunt, daughter of Æthelfrid and sister of kings Oswy and Oswald.[1] It is curious that Æddi, Wilfrid's biographer, preserves a most discreet silence about all these matters.

In his *Liber Eliensis*, Thomas of Ely, a writer who would be disposed to make out the best case for Wilfrid and Ætheldrytha in this affair, distinctly says of the former that he acted "with dissimulation (*dissimulavit*), but with prescience and with prudence (*provide atque prudenter*). As if agreeing with the king, he promised to persuade

[1] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 19.

the queen to abandon her purpose, all the while the holy pontiff advised her otherwise (*sanctus pontifex reginam alioqui intenderet*), and did his utmost to secure her divorce (*divortium quaereret*)."[1] This is not pleasant reading for other reasons. It shows how easy divorce had become, for the marriage tie could at once be broken if either party determined to adopt "a life of religion," as it was ludicrously called. St. Gall played the same part in the case of a maiden espoused to Sigebert II., King of Austrasia, who, arriving at his court, concealed her intention of taking the veil, and a week later took it with closed doors, in which shameless trickery, we are expressly told, she acted by the counsel of St. Gall.[2] Such is a measure of the duplicity inculcated and practised among some of the cloistered monks at this time. It is further plainly stated that it was Wilfrid who invested her with the veil. No wonder the king, who had previously been very friendly to him, was exceedingly angry. When his wife left him, Ecgfrid was married again, this time to Eormenburga (called Iurmenburga by Æddi). Dr. Stubbs calls her a sister-in-law of Centwine, King of Wessex.[3] She was in fact the sister of Centwine's queen.[4] Knowing the king's secret displeasure, and herself disliking Wilfrid, Eormenburga further inflamed it. Wilfrid's champions were at least indiscreet in their references to the new

[1] *Vit. Etheldredae*, 9; Bright, 317, note 1.

[2] *Vit. St. Galli*; Pertz's *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, ii. 12; Bright, *op. cit.* 317, note 2.

[3] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 53.

[4] See Æddi, chap. 40.

queen, and described her in opprobrious terms (*muliebra inconstantia mentis, intemperantia lubricae ostentationis, oppressio ac rapina violentae dominationis, quae in ea magno cum tumore vigebant*).[1]

It is no wonder, if this was the language used about his queen by Wilfrid, that she should have also used "adjectives and adverbs" in reply. Nor is it wonderful that, like Queen Katharine in later times, she should have pointed out to Ecgfrid that his whole kingdom was this proud man's bishopric, and should further (as Henry the Eighth's nobles urged against that strong man) have inveighed against the secular pomp and wealth and arrogance (*Enumerans ei . . . Wilfridi . . . omnem gloriam saecularem et divitias*) of his arrogant bishop. He further enlarged on the number of his monasteries, the size of his houses, the number of his attendants clothed in regal robes (*regalibus vestimentis*), all fully armed, whom he might fail to produce and hold back if the king needed their services in time of war.[2] Wilfrid was in such matters, in fact, a precursor of Wolsey.

It is not strange that under these circumstances the king should have ordered him to quit Northumbria, and should have confiscated his two great abbeys of Ripon and Hexham, the site of the latter of which had been a special gift from Æthelrytha herself. On leaving Northumbria Wilfrid went to Ely to visit the cloistered queen, and thence to the Continent.

[1] Eadmer, *Vit.*, Raine's *Historians of Church of York*, i. 186.
[2] Æddi, 24; Bright, 318, note 3.

We have seen how the Picts in Scotland were subjected by King Oswy, who, as Mr. Skene plausibly argues, considered himself the real heir to his nephew Talorcan, whom he really represented on the paternal side, a mode of inheritance not acknowledged, however, by the Picts. He ruled undisputedly over them as overlord, until his death. After the accession of his son Ecgfrid, and in the first years of his reign, according to Æddi, "the bestial people of the Picts" (*populi bestiales Pictorum*) despising their subjection (*jugum servitutis*) to the Saxons, and threatening to throw off the yoke of servitude, collected together innumerable tribes from the north, like ants. Æddi says they built a great mound against the Anglian king and his men. Thereupon, Ecgfrid collected a small army of mounted men (*equitatui exercitu praeparato*), with which he assailed the great and not-easily-discovered enemy, who were led by a powerful ruler called Beornaeth (*cum Beornheth audaci subregulo*). Ecgfrid attacked them and made such a slaughter of them that two rivers were almost filled with their bodies. And wonderful to relate, some of the fugitives crossed the water dry-shod over the floating bodies of their comrades. The two rivers, says Skene, may have been either the Forth and the Teith, which join their streams a little below Stirling, or the Tay and the Earn, which unite on the Firth of Tay at Abernethy, having a low plain between them. The Picts remained for the rest of his reign subject to

Ecgfrid.[1] Bede does not mention anything about all this. Beornheth has a name which, as Mr. Skene says, is clearly Anglo-Saxon. Is it possible that he was a brother of Talorcan, who had been given an Anglian name, his father, King Alchfrid, having been an Anglian?

It is characteristic of the monkish biographers and flatterers of Wilfrid's memory, that they should have applied the most opprobrious terms to Ecgfrid's second wife. Æddi speaks of her as the most impious Jezebel, as he had similarly called the Frankish queen Bathildis; he also compares her to Pilate's wife. Richard of Hexham speaks of her as having Satan living in her heart, and Fridegode calls her a talkative partridge (*garrula perdix*).[2]

Bede says that in the ninth year of King Ecgfrid (this terminated on the 15th of February 679), a great battle was fought between him and Æthelred, King of the Mercians, near the river Trent.[3]

The war was probably caused, as so many other quarrels between Mercia and Northumbria had been, by the struggle between the two for the possession of the country of the Lindisfari (*i.e.* Lincolnshire), which had been conquered by Ecgfrid from Wulfhere.

[1] *Op. cit.* chap. 19.

[2] Bright, *op. cit.* 318, note 1.

[3] Stevenson says there is reason to suppose that it was fought in Staffordshire at a place called Elford (*i.e.* Ælfwinsford), upon the Trent. Gibson, in his addition to Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 636, describes a tumulus there which may possibly have some connection with this engagement.

In this battle Ælfwine, brother of Ecgfrid and also of Æthelred's wife, Osthrytha, was killed. He was only eighteen years old and was much beloved in the two provinces (*i.e.* Northumbria and Mercia). There was every prospect of this struggle being followed by a bitter war with reprisals between the two fierce communities. Archbishop Theodore, however, tactfully intervened and made peace between the two kings without any man being put to death. Only the usual wergeld or blood-money was paid to the Northumbrian king in respect of his brother's life. This treaty continued for a long while afterwards,[1] and it would seem that from this time Lincolnshire became definitely a part of Mercia.

Let us now turn to Earconwald, Bishop of London. Before he became bishop, according to Bede, he had built two famous monasteries, one for himself and the other for his sister, Æthelberga, and established in them a regular discipline of the best kind. The one he built for himself was in the region of Sudergeona (Surrey), near the river Thames, at a place called Cerotaesei (*i.e.* Chertsey, in Surrey), of which he became the first abbot, while that he built for his sister was at Berecingum (*i.e.* Barking, in Essex), "wherein," Bede says, "she might be a mother and nurse of women devoted to God, and where she presided as Abbess in the way that became the sister of such an episcopal brother."[2]

The foundation of Chertsey Abbey and its endowment compels a short digression.

[1] *Bede*, iv. 21. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 6.

We have reached a point where the fortunes of Kent were tending to a very low ebb. It was only saved from temporary oblivion, in fact, by its containing the Metropolitan See. It is hardly mentioned by Bede or by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and we have to rely upon the dubious traditions of a much later age. The Danish invasions were largely to blame for our lack of materials. Those marauders ruthlessly destroyed the title-deeds of the great religious houses, and they had to be replaced by others of a later date in which fact and fancy were much mixed. Especially to be regretted is the destruction of the great Abbey of Chertsey by the Thames. As we have seen, Bede tells us it was founded by Earconwald, who afterwards became Bishop of London, and this makes it almost certain that the district in which it was placed, which was south of the great river, had passed out of the hands of the kings of Kent and become a part of the wide dominion of the Mercian kings. This is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of the later writers and by other notable facts; among them that the district now begins to be mentioned by a new name, which it still bears, namely Surrey. The name first occurs in Bede about the year 674.[1] The date when it first became part of Mercia is not quite clear, but in all probability it was during the reign of Wulfhere, when he was engaged in his great campaign in the south of England and

[1] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 6.

overwhelmed the kingdom of Wessex, and when he doubtless became the overlord of Kent. Three charters exist which in their present form are, as we have seen in the Introduction, of considerably later date, probably of the time of King Eadgar, who restored the Abbey of Chertsey and collected fresh documents of title. So William of Malmesbury says: *Rex Eadgar illud refecit, veteribus undique cartis conquisitis, quarum testimonio praedia revocaret ad locum.*

The reign of Eadgar is a respectable date to carry back a tradition to, and especially a tradition which may be supported by other documents which probably had a distinct pedigree, notably the chroniclers Florence of Worcester and Ralph of Diss, and the *Life of St. Osyth.*

These concur in assigning the first creation of a separate district called Surrey to Wulfhere, and they all add that he put it in charge of a *subregulus* (? an ealdorman) called Frithowald or Frithuwald. The earliest form of the name Surrey, as it occurs in Bede's Latin text, is *Regio Sudergeona*, which in the English translation becomes *Sudrigna.* This, says Plummer, shows that *geona* is the Anglo-Saxon plural. We are not told who Frithowald was, but he was doubtless a Mercian of high rank. In the *Life of St. Osyth*, and by Ralph of Diss, he is said to have married Wilburga, a daughter of Penda, and sister of Wulfhere, and by her to have been the father of St. Osyth, of whom we shall have more to say presently.

In the Register of Chertsey Abbey[1] there are transcripts of two alleged grants (I have discussed them in the Introduction) in which Frithowald's name occurs.[2] The former one professes to convey certain lands from him to the Monastery of St. Peter at Chertsey and its Abbot Earconwald. These consisted of 200 "manences" and of five "mansae" in a place called Thorpe. At the same time he placed his only son under Abbot Earconwald. The whole estate, he says, consisted of 300 "manences." This property lay chiefly along the Thames, and extended as far as a certain dyke called Fullingadich (which is translated the old ditch—*antiqua fossa*), and in another as far as the boundary of another province called Sunninges.

Ten "manences," however, were situated close to the port of London where ships were wont to go (*applicant*), and near the public way along the river.

Dr. Bright has translated some of the names of the boundaries in a neat way, thus: "from the mouth of 'the Way' to the Eels' ditch, the old military way (*Ealde here straet*) . . . the great willow . . . the head of the pool, the old spinney, the holm oak, the three hills . . . the march brook, the three trees," etc.[3]

Frithowald's conveyance is confirmed in the

[1] MS. Cott., *Vit. A.* xiii.

[2] He is here styled *provinciae Surrianorum subregulus Regis Wlferi Mercianorum.*

[3] *Op. cit.* 293, note 4.

deed by King Wulfhere, and we are told he put the document with his own hand on the altar at the vill called Tamu (probably Tamworth), and signed it with a cross. There is no reason to doubt the general reliability of the statements in the deed, except the witnesses, among which we find an otherwise unknown bishop (a Bishop of London is clearly meant) named Humfred.[1] Wulfhere's confirmation is preserved in the Chertsey Register in a second deed.[2] Another conveyance contained in the same Register conveys other properties by Frithowald at Moulsey, etc., to the same monastery, and has probably the same history as the previous one. It is accompanied by a similarly worded confirmation by King Wulfhere and a similar subscription by Bishop Humfred. One phrase in it has a pleasant sound; it says that if any one should at any time wish to increase this gift of lands and privileges, "May the omnipotent God grant him a long life in this world and a joyful one in heaven" (*coelestis regni jocunditatem*).[3]

[1] See Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* DCCCCLXXXVII.; Birch, *Cart.*, No. 34.
[2] Kemble, *op. cit.* DCCCCLXXXVI.; Birch, *Cart.*, No. 33.
[3] Kemble, *op. cit.* DCCCCXXXVIII.; Birch, *Cart.*, No. 40.

NOTE.—The association of Frithowald, the "regulus" of Surrey, with "Earconwald" in the two deeds named above as joint donors of lands to Chertsey Abbey, and the similarity of the concluding syllable, *wald*, of the two names, makes it probable they were near related. Earconwald is called "beatus" in one document, while in the other he signs as Abbot (*i.e.* Abbot of Chertsey). In the latter, Frithowald says, "*incipissium cum unicum filium meum in obedientiam Erkenwaldi abbatis trade*" (Birch, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 53 and 54). This leads to the almost certain conclusion that Earconwald, the Bishop of London, was the son of the regulus Frithowald.

CHAPTER VII

ÆTHELRED AND THE MERCIAN KINGDOM—THEODORE AND THE INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE—QUARREL OF KING ECGFRID AND WILFRID—CONSTANTINE POGONATOS—POPE AGATHO AND THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE—WILFRID'S APPEAL TO ROME AND RETURN TO ENGLAND—THE LATER DAYS OF KING ECGFRID AND POPE THEODORE

On the death of Wulfhere in 675 he was succeeded by his brother Ædilred or Æthelred. Bede tells us he married Osthryth, the sister of King Ecgfrid of Northumbria,[1] and it was clearly this match which prevented Wilfrid from seeking shelter in Mercia when he left Northumbria. Bede tells us that in the year 676—that is, the first year of his reign—he attacked and devastated Kent with a cruel army (*maligno exercitu*), ravaged the churches and monasteries there without regard to religion (*sine respectu pietatis*) or the fear of God, and destroyed in the common ruin the city of Hrofi (*i.e.* Rochester), of which Putta was bishop, who, however, happened to be then absent.[2] Such is

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 21.

[2] *Op. cit.* iv. 12.

the very extraordinary statement of Bede, which he sets out quite abruptly and without any explanation. What the cause of this violent attack on Kent on the part of Æthelred can have been is difficult to explain. His sister-in-law, Wulfhere's wife, was a Kentish princess, and there had been a long friendship between Kent and Mercia. We can hardly doubt that there must have been some very potent reason when a Christian prince so soon after his accession made such a devastating raid on churches and monasteries. William of Malmesbury suggested[1] that it was due to some insolent answer made by the Kentish king Hlothaire, but of this we have no evidence, nor in that case would the Church have suffered so severely. Is it possible that it was due to some intrigue of Wilfrid, who was not at all pleased with the new appointment at Canterbury? On the other hand, as we are told that Bishop Putta was away from his diocese, it is possible that he may have had something to do with it. This is strengthened by what Bede goes on to say, namely, that when he understood that his church was ravaged and all things had been taken away, he went to Saxwulf, Bishop of the Mercians (that is, Æthelred's own Bishop), and having received from him a church and a small parcel of land, he there ended his days in peace. He went about wherever his services were required to teach Church music, and did not try to regain his

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, i. 35.

bishopric, for, adds Bede, he was more zealous in spiritual than in worldly affairs. Bede says nothing about it, but it is remarkable that Putta should head the official list of bishops of the Hecanas (*i.e.* of Hereford) as given by Florence of Worcester. Dr. Bright suggests that he may in fact have been employed by Saxwulf as his deputy in that district.[1] Theodore now consecrated Cuichelm (who bore a well-known Wessex name) as bishop in the city of Rochester in his stead, but, finding the place very poverty-stricken for need of necessaries, he soon abandoned his charge and withdrew elsewhere, whereupon Gebmund was constituted bishop in his place.[2]

We do not read of Æthelred again for three years, when we find him having a struggle with the Northumbrian King Ecgfrid, in spite of the fact that he had married his sister Osthryth. The strife probably arose in the continual difficulty as to whether Lincolnshire belonged by right to Northumbria or Mercia. I have already described the feud when relating the doings of Ecgfrid. It seems plain from Bede's language that Æthelred won the fight which followed; in which Ecgfrid's young brother Ælfwine was killed. He tells us that a peace was arranged between the two, the principal condition of which was no doubt the definite reversion of the disputed territory to Mercia. Bede says it was followed by a long-lived peace. This struggle took place in Ecgfrid's

[1] Bright, 300.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 12.

ninth year—that is, in 679.[1] The battle is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* under the year 679, where we read: "A battle of the Saxons in which fell Ailmine, son of Ossu."

The recovery of Lindissi, or Lincolnshire, by Æthelred in this war put an end to the local bishopric there, and Ecgfrid's protégé Eadhaed (who had been his chaplain and who was brother of St. Cedde and St. Chad), whom he had placed in charge of it, was now made Bishop of Ripon,[2] and Saxwulf for a while controlled as Bishop the whole Mercian kingdom in its full extent, including Lincolnshire and the country of the South Angles.

A word or two now about Wessex, which no doubt continued, as Bede says, in a state of anarchy. He gives us no details, however. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*[3] tells us that in 676 Æscwine (King of Wessex) died, and Centwine succeeded him. It adds that he was the son of Cynegils, the son of Ceolwulf.[4] Bede, without giving any definite date, says that Hlothaire, Bishop of Wessex, died during the ten years' anarchy, and that Hæddi was appointed bishop in his place, and was consecrated by Theodore in London.[5]

Let us now turn to a much more important work which occupied that great man, and for which the departure of his very imperious and self-willed rival, Wilfrid, gave him a fortunate opportunity. When

[1] See *Bede*, iv. 21. [2] *Bede*, iv. 12. [3] MSS. A, B, C, and E.
[4] *Op. cit.*, note on p. 676. [5] *Op. cit.* iv. 12.

Theodore came to England he apparently kept two main objects in view. One was to eradicate the Celtic schism, as he deemed it, and to secure the unity of faith and administration in the English Churches by the appointment everywhere of bishops and a priesthood with a title beyond suspicion. This he had now succeeded in doing, and he turned to the second part of the great work which he set out to effect, namely, to divide the altogether unworkable dioceses in England into smaller areas more easily administered, and in this respect more like those of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. In this most necessary work he had to face opposition from two sides: from the actual lay rulers of the different kingdoms, and from the existing bishops. The theory among the English kings up to this date was that there should be one bishop and one only in each kingdom. There was an exception in the case of Kent, where there were sees both at Canterbury and Rochester, and for a very short time also in Wessex, where it was the consequence of the king having quarrelled with his bishop. The rulers probably feared (and the fear was a very real one in Northumbria) that the division of the kingdom into two separate ecclesiastical provinces would be speedily followed by its being broken up into its initial factors of Bernicia and Deira.

Similar opposition also came from the bishops. The fact that only one bishop ruled over the vast expanse of Mercia, while another had authority

from the Forth to the Humber, made them very big personages, and they were not likely to view with equanimity the great reduction of their power and dignity involved in the breaking up their sees into smaller ones, especially when it was accompanied by the introduction into England for the first time of a real Metropolitan who would exercise supervision over themselves. One of them, Wilfrid, would doubtless have admitted the prudence or even necessity of a large increase of the Episcopate if the work was to be done with any efficiency. This with him, however, was conditional on the new bishops north of the Humber being his suffragans and not those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for he had set his heart on reviving Gregory's ideal of a second Metropolitan at York, and he no doubt thought that he was the very man for the post.

Theodore began his experiment in East Anglia, where the bishops had always treated themselves as offshoots from Canterbury, and we have seen how when Bishop Bisi was incapacitated Theodore took the opportunity of dividing his see into two, one for Norfolk, and the other for Suffolk. He found, however, when he held his synod at Herutford, that while his episcopal brethren looked upon the division of sees with a Platonic favour, they were not prepared to carry it out at that time. The question was therefore postponed, and, as we have seen, Theodore actually deprived Wynfrid of his Bishopric of the Mercians because of some act of

contumacy which has been interpreted as persistent opposition to the division of his see.

When Wilfrid was expelled it was necessary to fill his place, and the Northumbrian ruler very naturally applied to Theodore. According to Wilfrid's panegyrist Æddi, whose virulent innuendoes have been too frequently accepted as history, the Northumbrian king and his wife actually offered bribes to Theodore to carry out their wishes and to have the see filled by a friendly person. Theodore, at all events, acquiesced. He must have thought Wilfrid's recent conduct intolerable or he would hardly have done so, and he also succeeded in persuading the king to let him carry out his scheme to divide the Northumbrian bishopric into two parts, coincident largely with the two old northern kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. For the former he selected and consecrated Eata, and for the latter Bosa, both of them monks. Eata presided over the joint sees of Lindisfarne and Hexham, and Bosa over that of York.

Æddi speaks rather contemptuously of the new bishops, as if they were strangers and nobodies (*aliunde inventos, et non de subjectis illius parochiae*). They were nothing of the kind. Bosa was an alumnus of St. Hilda's Monastery at Whitby, and is mentioned by Bede among the five bishops who had a similar upbringing; all of them, he says, of singular merit and sanctity.[1] Eata was one of the twelve picked Anglian boys selected by St. Aidan for his mis-

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 23.

sion. He was, further, the builder and first Abbot of Ripon, whence he was transferred by St. Cuthberht to Lindisfarne. He afterwards became Abbot of Melrose, and presently, as we have seen, bishop of the joint sees of Hexham and Lindisfarne. The two bishops were duly ordained at York by Theodore.

At this point the narrative of Bede becomes very condensed and unsatisfactory, a result probably of his having to equate the hard facts of history with the prime duty of devotion to his Church. We have in consequence to turn for a while to Æddi's *Life of Wilfrid* for details of the latter's career.

Wilfrid was not the man to take his defeat humbly. According to his biographer just named, he demanded from the king and from Theodore an explanation of the appropriation of his property and their treatment of himself. He would have us believe that these two great men answered in the face of the people that "they had found no fault in him, but that they did not propose to alter their verdict," a statement which must be allowed to be a great draft on our credulity. Æddi then goes on to say that in conjunction with his co-bishops (*coepiscopi*)—by whom it is difficult to understand who were meant—he determined to appeal to Rome, thus following the example of the Apostle Paul. At this the courtiers laughed (*adulatoribus cum risu gaudentibus*). Thereupon, says his biographer, he prophesied that on the anniversary of the

very day on which they were laughing at him there would be inflicted a punishment upon them which would put them to confusion. And thus it came about, for on the very anniversary of that day, the body of Ecgfrid's brother Ælfwine, who had been killed by Æthelred, was carried into York while his people were weeping and tearing their hair and garments, and Ecgfrid himself, who survived him, reigned till his death "without victory" (*usque ad mortem sine victoria regnabat*).[1]

Wilfrid now set off for Rome with his companions (*suis sodalibus*) and clergy. They went on board ship, while many thousands (*multa millia*!!!) of the monks whom he had recently ordained (*sub manu episcoporum noviter ordinatorum*) bade him, in tears, a good journey. His enemies, however (guessing that he would go by way of Quantovic or Etaples), sent messengers ahead with gifts for the Frank king Theodoric the Third and for his major-domo, Ebroin (written Eadefyrwine by Æddi), asking them either to expel him or kill all his companions and appropriate their goods. "The Lord," however, saved him, for about the same time St. Winfrith (*i.e.* Wynfrid), who had been expelled from the Bishopric of Lichfield, was passing that way and fell into the hands of the same foes, "as if into the jaws of a lion," who, fancying it was St. Wilfrid, plundered his goods, while many of his men were killed and he himself was left naked.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 24. [2] *Ib.* 25.

Wilfrid having apparently heard of the reception prepared for him if he went to Quantovic, took advantage of a west wind and sailed to Friesland (Æddi calls it Freis), where he safely arrived with his companions. There he was well received by King Aldgisl, by whose permission he daily preached to the pagans on the truths of the Christian faith. It fortunately happened that there was this season an unusual catch of fish, and the Friesians, who were chiefly occupied in fishing, attributed their good luck to the influence of the foreign preacher. Æddi even says (which is clearly a great exaggeration) that the grandees (except only a few), with many thousands of the common folk, were baptized. Thus was planted the first seed of Christianity in that land where some years later such a rich harvest was gathered by one of Wilfrid's scholars at Ripon, St. Willibrord.[1]

At the same time King Theodoric's major-domo Ebroin sent envoys to King Aldgisl of Friesland with a friendly message promising him by a solemn oath (*sub jurejurando*) to give him a corn measure full (*modius*) of gold pieces if he would capture Wilfrid alive or send his head to him. The Friesian king summoned a meeting of his people in his palace, where he feasted the envoys and then ordered the letter of Ebroin to be read. Æddi implies that he himself was there (*praesentibus nobis*). He then ordered it to be thrown into the fire, saying to the envoys: "Tell your master what I now say; may

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. 26.

the Creator of all things reduce to ashes and consume the life and kingdom of one who is perjured before God if I fail to keep the pact into which I have entered." This again, no doubt, is another example of Æddi's facile rhetoric.

The envoys returned home to their master with some confusion (*cum confusione*).[1]

Wilfrid having passed the winter in Friesland diligently prosecuting his evangelistic work, set out again in the spring and went to pay a visit to Dagobert, King of Austrasia (Æddi calls him Daegberht). By him he was well received, as might have been expected, for we are told that in his youth he had been expelled from the kingdom by his enemies (he was really banished by the major-domo Grimoald) and had then taken refuge in Ireland (*ad Hiberniam*).

This is a very interesting statement, for it is not improbable, but the reverse, that Dagobert there learnt how to speak Irish, and that he was probably the only Frank king who had this accomplishment.

After some years his friends and relations (*amici et proximi*) having learnt from travellers (*a navigantibus*) that he was living and in perfect health in Ireland, sent envoys to St. Wilfrid, then Bishop in the North, asking him to send for him from Scotland and Ireland (*de Scottia et Hibernia ad se invitasset*). This is apparently the first time the word Scotia is used in contrast with Hibernia. Wilfrid consented to do this. Dagobert thereupon

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. 27.

set out from Ireland and returned to his own country, where, enriched by the arms and forces of his companions (*per arma ditatum, et viribus sociorum elevatum*), he occupied the throne. The King, remembering his obligation to Wilfrid, now offered his guest the largest bishopric in his realm, namely, that of Strassburg. Arbogast, nineteenth Bishop of Strassburg, says Canon Raine, is said to have died at this time, *i.e.* 21st July 679.[1] This offer Wilfrid declined, and the King then sent him on with large gifts to the Apostolic See, accompanied by Bishop Deodato.[2] Canon Raine says he is supposed to have been Bishop of Toul.[3]

The travellers presently reached the realm of Berhther, who is wrongly called King of Campania (Champagne) by Æddi. Mabillon showed long ago that he was really the Lombard king, otherwise called Pectarit or Bertared. Æddi describes him as humble and quiet, and as quaking at the words of God (*trementem sermones Dei*).

Wilfrid doubtless went on to the Lombard capital, Pavia, where he was entertained by the King. The poet-biographer Fridegode, who tells us hardly a single new fact about Wilfrid but enlivens his verse with many human touches, says that their conversation took place after a feast (*post epulas, et post grati carchesia Bacchi*).[4] The King said to him: "Your enemies have sent me envoys from

[1] *Gallia Christiana*, v. 782, quoted in Raine, *Hist. of the Church of York*, i. 39, note. Æddi writes the name Freithbyrg.

[2] Æddi, ch. 28.

[3] Raine, *loc. cit.*, note 8.

[4] *Op. cit.*, line 719, ed. Raine.

Britain offering me very large gifts if I would harass (*angarizarem*) their runaway bishop (*subterfugientem episcopum ut dixerunt*) and prevent him going on to the Holy See." "The King, however, refused this nefarious request," says Æddi, adding, "I was once in the days of my youth an exile from my country and living with a certain pagan Hunnic King (*i.e.* a king of the Avars). He swore to me by his idol god that he would never give me up to my enemies. Presently there arrived some envoys from them offering him a *modius* of golden *solidi* if he would surrender me to them in order that I might be put to death. This he refused, saying that without doubt his gods would undo him if he thus proved false to his oath. How much more, said the King, ought I, who know the true God, to beware of selling my own soul for all the wealth in the world."[1]

Wilfrid now moved on towards Rome. In reporting his sojourn in Lombardy I have followed Æddi's statement. Nothing whatever is said of it, however, nor of his intercourse with the Lombard king, by Bede.

At this point it will be convenient to make a digression, and to bring up the summary of what had taken place at Constantinople and Rome up to this date. I carried the story of the Byzantine Empire to the death of Constans in 668 (*ante*, vol. i., pp. 235 and 236). When that event happened, his son Constantine, known as Constantine

[1] Æddi, ch. 28.

the Fourth, styled Pogonatos or the Bearded, who had been left in charge at Constantinople and had carried on a desultory war there against the Saracens, set off for Sicily. Having settled the affairs of Sicily, he returned to the capital to find a section of the army demanding that he should associate his two younger brothers with himself, on "the injurious and fanciful plea" that they believed in the Trinity, and it was meet that they should be governed by three emperors. Having quelled the outbreak by the tact of one of his officers and punished his brothers, he faced the duty of opposing the Saracens, whose general, Muawiah, had determined to conquer the empire and had sent a huge flotilla to attack the capital. The young Emperor opposed them bravely, and it would seem he was assisted by a famous discovery made at this time, known as Romaic or Greek fire, the invention of the architect Callinicus, with which he armed his fleet of fire-ships and caused much destruction among the enemy's vessels. They were further decimated by a storm which drove a large number of them on to the rocks, while the remainder were destroyed in a sea-fight; meanwhile the land forces of the enemy suffered a disaster in which 30,000 Arabs perished, and the proud commander of the Mohammedans was constrained to accept an ignominious peace which was to last for thirty years, while the Saracens had to pay 30,000 pounds of gold, fifty captives, and fifty thoroughbred horses annually.

Thus ended the first notable siege of Constantinople, which had been built by a Constantine, was now ably defended by another, and many centuries later captured from a third.[1] Bury belauds the skill and prowess of the Emperor in this war. "We are told," he says, "that the advantageous peace which Constantine made with the Saracen Caliph created a great sensation throughout the West, and redounded to the name and glory of the Roman Emperor. The Khan of the Avars, the kings who ruled beyond him, the governors of the Lombard duchies (*castaldi*), and the greatest chiefs of the Western nations sent ambassadors laden with presents to Constantine, and entreated him to make peace with them. The Emperor received the embassies graciously, and there was a universal state of security both in the East and in the West."[2]

The reign of Constantine was marked by another notable event, namely, the first settlement of the Bulgarians south of the Danube. The modern Bulgarians speak a Slavic language, and

[1] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 310–13.

[2] *Op. cit.* 313. Bury adds the graphic note: "It is important to remember that the Western sovereigns throughout the sixth and seventh and eighth centuries never ceased to regard New Rome as the centre of the civilised world, and to consider themselves not as co-ordinate with, but as subordinate to, the Roman Emperors in dignity. This spirit is reflected in Gregory of Tours, and in John of Biclaro, who cares far more for the *urbs regia*, where he spent many years, than for the Gothic court of Toledo. Isidore, writing of the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom, says: *fruiturque hactenus inter regias insulas et opes largas imperii felicitate secura.* This is the ideal, the happiness of the Empire." *Ib.*, note 1.

are classed among the Slavic peoples. This was not the case with the original Bulgarians, who were related to the various Turco-Ugrian races who first entered Europe as Huns, and formed various communities otherwise known as Avars, Khazars, Magyars, etc. etc., differing chiefly in the proportions of Ugrian and of Turkish blood they possessed. The true Bulgars had been settled for a considerable time in the district now called Budzak, but then known as Oglos or Onglos (an angle or corner), north of the Danube, whence they had begun to harass the Roman frontiers. The Emperor Constantine organised a campaign against them, in which he was taken ill, and the result was a very serious reverse, followed by an invasion of Mœsia by the Bulgars. They conquered the seven Slavic tribes who had been living for some time in Mœsia. The Bulgarians settled in Mœsia, and Constantine made a treaty with them, conceding to them that province which had long been only nominally under the Roman authority, and agreed further to the ignominy of paying an annual tribute to the Bulgarian king.[1]

Mr. Bury has well described in a phrase or two the most important result of the Bulgarian conquest. "The wayward Slavonic tribes were unable to form a political unity, without an alien power to give the initiative by subjecting them

[1] I described this settlement and the early history of the Bulgars long ago in a paper entitled "Spread of the Slavs—Part IV., the Bulgarians," in the *Transactions of the Anthropological Institute*, N.S., xi. p. 319 *et seq.*

to a monarchy. On the other hand we see the assimilative absorbing power of the Slavonic race, which was able in a short time to obliterate the identity of the conquerors, while it profited by the principles of unity and monarchy which they had introduced."[1] What has to be remembered is that the Bulgarians differ from the other Southern Slavs in being a mixed race; the upper classes among them are undoubtedly of Hunnic descent and more nearly allied in blood to the Magyars than to the Serbs or to their own peasants. If the Magyars instead of retaining their primitive language had sunk it in that of their Slav subjects, like their relatives the Bulgars, it would perhaps have considerably altered European history and saved Austria from some perennial problems of government.

We must now again consider the Emperor and his doings in another sphere, namely, that of ecclesiastical policy. In this field he had, like his father, a difficult issue to meet, namely, the fanaticism of a crowd of ascetics and monks who were incessantly raising metaphysical issues insoluble by human skill, and made into shibboleths by which men's orthodoxy was rigidly tested by rival schools following rival masters. Constantine's father thought the best way to stop the everlasting feud which was tearing his people in pieces was to forbid all discussion on certain burning questions, which he did in the pronouncement known as the *Type*.[2] In the hands of

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 335.
[2] Howorth, *St. Augustine the Missionary*, p. 297 *et seq.*

the Eastern monks the flax, however, only burnt the hotter, and the charge of indifferentism was found to be as hard to fence with as that of heresy. Constantine determined to let the Church decide matters without his intervention. The still raging question was whether Christ had two wills or one only, which I have analysed in a former volume on Augustine. The Popes of Rome, as we saw, had veered round and round on the question, and had latterly shown a prudent reticence in regard to it. The Pope who was in power when Constans died, namely Vitalian, had, like his predecessor, kept a judicious silence until that Emperor's death.

On the death of Constans, however, he took advantage of the succession of the young Emperor, whose views were uncertain, to declare himself in favour of the two wills, which was doubtless the view of the greater part of the Roman clergy and of the monks at Rome. The Pope was buried at St. Peter's on 17th January 672, which was his death-day in the Roman calendar.

He was succeeded by Adeodatus (i.e. *a Deo datus*, God-given), a name in form like Deusdedit. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, his father was called Jobianus or Jovianus. He was a Roman and had been a monk, perhaps the first real monk to become Pope, and belonged to the Monastery of St. Erasmus on the Caelian Hill. To it he gave several estates, about which Rossi has published an inscription. He was consecrated in April 672 and was buried on the 16th or 17th June

676. The only notable event of his reign mentioned in the work last cited was a tremendous and continuous downfall of rain with terrible lightning, which caused the death of many men and beasts.

Among the forged documents at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was an alleged grant of privileges from this Pope which I have discussed in the Introduction. After 138 days he was succeeded by Donus or Domnus, another Roman, the son of Maurice, who only reigned one year and five months. Although he reigned such a short time he was the author of more than one notable monument in Rome. Thus he flagged with marble the atrium or courtyard in front of St. Peter's, and, according to Duchesne, he restored the small church on the way to St. Paul's outside the walls, where St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have parted on their way to martyrdom. Finding that a body of Syrian monks professing Nestorian views were living in the monastery called after Boëthius at Rome, he dispersed the inmates among the other Roman monasteries and put their house in the hands of orthodox Roman monks.[1]

In 678, and while Donus was Pope, there succeeded a new Patriarch of Constantinople, Theodore. His three predecessors had been inoffensive people, and although no doubt Monothelites had apparently kept judicious silence on the burning issue, in accordance with the injunctions

[1] *Lib. Pont.*, *sub nom.* "Donus"; and Duchesne's note, *ib.* 348 and 349, note 1.

of the *Type* of Constans. Theodore was evidently troubled by the later attitude of Vitalian which involved an open pronouncement on the other side, and he accordingly asked the Emperor to be allowed to remove his name from the diptychs on which the names of those thought worthy of being mentioned in the Church's prayers were inscribed. Constantine did not wish to commit himself. His great anxiety was to unite the Church, and, like other members of his family, he probably took a cynical view of the real importance of the metaphysical and insoluble issue which was tormenting the souls of so many contending monks. While he did not immediately interfere, he did not prohibit the striking out of Vitalian's name, and it was accordingly struck out. Constantine, however, who was very anxious to bring about peace in the Church, thought it necessary to take some conciliatory step at Rome to qualify the effect of Theodore's peremptory act, for he no doubt felt that the antagonism of the Pope would necessarily greatly hamper the Imperial policy in Italy. He accordingly wrote a letter to Pope Donus, in which he expressed his regret at the continued existence of a dispute which was causing the heathen and heretics to blaspheme, and he suggested that a symposium or conference should be held to discuss matters. When this letter reached Rome, Donus was dead.

He was buried at St. Peter's on 11th April 678, and was succeeded by a more decided

theologian, namely Agatho, who was consecrated, according to Pagi and Duchesne, on 27th June 678. The *Liber Pontificalis* does not give us the name of his father, and merely says that Agatho was a Sicilian monk. His name is Greek and points to his having been a Greek by race, and thus raises some curious points. Another of the name is mentioned in a letter of Pope Gregory written in July 596, and therefore eighty years before this time. He was one of the Pope's messengers (*lator praesentium*) who was married, and wished, contrary to his wife's desire, to enter the monastery of St. Hermas, at Palermo.[1] This monastery, it is suggested by Ewald, was one of those built by St. Gregory in Sicily. The fact of the later Agatho being elected a Pope although a Greek is in itself curious. It is still more curious that there were four Greek monasteries in Rome at this time, and that among the representatives of the Italian Church who attended the Third Council of Constantinople the only monks were Greek monks from these monasteries, each one having been privileged to send a representative. As we have seen, the chaplain of the French Bishop Agilberht, when he attended the Synod of Whitby, was also named Agatho, and I have already suggested that he may have been the future Pope himself, for the chaplain is styled Agatho papa. All this is curious.

The letter which Constantine sent to Pope

[1] *E. and H.*, vi. 47.

Donus was addressed to him as the most Holy Archbishop of our Ancient Rome and Œcumenical Pope. It arrived, as we have seen, after his death, and was opened and replied to by Agatho, who reciprocated the Emperor's wishes.

The *Sacra* or Imperial letter here mentioned does not contain an invitation to the Western Episcopate to attend an Œcumenical Council, which was the recognised way of making it universal, but bids the Pope select three persons as sufficient to represent his sacred Church. If, however, he deemed that more were requisite, he might send them. From the Council (this shows that he knew of the impending Roman Synod) he was to choose twelve metropolitans and bishops, while he was to select one monk from each of the four Byzantine monasteries.[1] This letter was sent, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, by "the glorious Epifanius."

In it the Emperor further suggested that a conference should be held at Constantinople, and that the Pope's deputies should be men of sufficient knowledge who should examine the questions at issue with Theodore, the Patriarch of the metropolitan city, and Macarius, the expatriated Patriarch of Antioch, who was then apparently living there. He promised that he himself would act quite impartially in the matter and not exercise any durance, would treat the Pope's envoys with distinction, and if no agreement ensued he would let them depart in peace.[2]

[1] Migne, *S.G.*, vol. 87, col. 1152. [2] Mansi, xi. 195.

On receiving Constantine's letter the new Pope, Agatho, who probably knew a good deal more of the Emperor's intentions and views than would appear from the documents, proceeded to summon a Provincial Synod at Rome to give greater authority to the voice of his delegates. An effort was also made to secure as far as possible some adequate representation of the views of the Latin patriarchate.

At this time Benedict Biscop, whom we have spoken of before, was paying another visit to Rome on the business of the monasteries he had founded in Northumbria. As we shall see, he then received a grant of privileges from Pope Agatho. He also obtained from him permission for the Archchantor or principal Quiremaster of St. Peter's, and Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin's, to accompany him back to England to superintend the singing in the North. The Pope more readily assented to his going as it enabled him to communicate with Archbishop Theodore, with the view of obtaining support from the English Church for the policy endorsed by the Italian Church in regard to Monothelism. He apparently also conveyed an invitation to Theodore to attend the Synod which he was holding at Rome on the subject. John the Quiremaster thereupon set out with Benedict, on the latter's return journey, and it is probable that on their way through France they conveyed an invitation to the Archbishop of Arles, similar to that which they were commissioned to give to Theodore of Canterbury. John apparently took with him a

copy of the canons passed at Pope Martin's very irregular Lateran Synod.[1] Theodore was much too old to venture upon the very arduous journey to Rome, and contented himself with summoning a local Synod at which John the Chanter was present, and where the views of Pope Martin on Monothelism were affirmed.

Having performed his task of reforming the singing of the English Church in the Roman fashion, John returned homewards; but soon after he crossed the Channel he died, and his remains were carried to the mother Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, of the daughter of which at Rome he was Abbot. The Acts of the English Synod which he was taking with him were duly forwarded to Rome by the brethren.[2]

Meanwhile the Synod summoned by Pope Agatho had done its work and sent off its deputies. This is clear from the letter of instruction drawn up by it for the delegates who were going to Constantinople as its representatives, and apparently meant to be read by them; in which we read: "A great number of us are spread over a vast extent of country, even to the seacoast, and the length of their journey has necessarily taken some time. Moreover, we were in hopes of being able to join to 'our Humility' our fellow-servant and brother bishop, Theodore, the archbishop and philosopher of the island of Britain, with others who have been kept there till

[1] *Vide* Howorth, *St. Augustine the Missionary*, 300-301.
[2] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 18.

to-day ;[1] and with divers bishops at this Council who have their sees in different parts . . . for if only a part were cognisant of what was being done, it might escape the notice of a part, and especially because among the Bishops of the Gentiles, as the Lombards, the Slavs, the Franks, Goths, and the Britons (*Brittannorum*), there are known to be very many of our fellow-servants who do not cease to inquire curiously on the subject, that they may know what is being done in the cause of the Apostolic faith. As they can be of advantage so long only as they hold the true faith with us, and think in unison with us, so would they be found troublesome and contrary if (which may God forbid) they stumbled at any article of the faith."[2]

One or two other matters are noteworthy in this important letter. In the first place, it contains a profession of faith from which the *Filioque* clause is absent, and the Holy Ghost is declared to proceed from the Father and to be worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son.[3]

In "the great copy" of the letter (no doubt the original, which had been altered and interpolated in the Latin version) there also occurs a statement of the position claimed by the Pope at this time, which

[1] This shows that when the document was sent off there were still hopes that Theodore would be at the Roman Council, which must have been dispelled on the arrival there of the Acts of the English Synod.

[2] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, N.S., xiv. pp. 340 and 341.

[3] *Ib.* 340. See, on the importance of this, Howorth, *Gregory the Great*, Appendix II.

is worth recalling as a moderate and generally acceptable definition. It speaks of "the See of Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, by the authority of which for the Truth, all the Christian nations, together with us, worship and revere according to the honour of the Blessed Peter the Apostle himself."[1]

Let us now turn to the actual constitution of this Roman Synod, which comprised 125 bishops. Its representative character has been a good deal exaggerated. There was not time, in fact, to bring representatives from the outlying provinces. Spain, so far as we know, had no share in the movement. No friendly synod was called there until afterwards, in the time of Pope Leo the Second, when one was summoned to express concurrence in that Pope's view, nor do we know of any delegates being sent to Rome for the purpose. Spain's Church life, as we have seen, was lived entirely apart from Italy at this time.

In regard to France, Hardouin and Hefele agree that no local synod was held to support the Pope's movement. Felix and Adeodatus, the Bishops of Arles and "Leucorum," whose see is uncertain (Hardouin thinks that Paris is meant), together

[1] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, N.S., xiv. p. 341. Döllinger points out that Agatho was the first to interpret the famous exhortation to St. Peter to strengthen his brethren (Luke xxii. 32) in the sense of a grant of a special privilege to the See of St. Peter, avowing, however, meanwhile, that in his time theological ignorance reigned at Rome. In later times this interpretation of Agatho was attributed to the ancient Popes by the arch-forger, the pseudo-Isidore, and from him passed into Gratian's great collection of Dr. Canon's. See Döllinger's *Letters and Declarations on the Vatican Decrees* (French edition, p. 69).

with a deacon named Taurinus or Charinus, were certainly present at the Roman Synod. Felix signed its Acts in the words *Felix humilis episcopus Arelatensis, legatus venerabilis synodi per Galliarum provincias constitutus*; but, says Hefele, "As Hardouin rightly perceived, the collective Gallican Episcopate and not a Gallican Synod is meant by the words *Synodus per Galliarum provincias constitutus*."[1] Although the archbishop no doubt represented the opinion of the French Episcopate, he had no mandate for the purpose.

It was different with the Church of the English, the special child of Rome. There a special Synod had been summoned by Archbishop Theodore to meet at Heathfield. It is equally clear that this Synod, as we have seen, was attended by the Archchantor John on behalf of Pope Agatho.[2] At that assembly, Theodore, according to Bede, inquired into the doctrines of each person present, and found that they unanimously agreed in the doctrines of the Catholic faith. He thereupon had its terms set down in writing by the authority of the Synod, "as a memorial and for the instruction of succeeding generations"! Unfortunately, Bede only gives extracts from the document.

It commenced thus: "In the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, in the tenth year of the reign of our most pious Lord Ecgfrid, King of the Northumbrians, the 13th of the kalends of October (*i.e.* the 17th of September), the eighth

[1] Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, Eng. ed., v. 141. [2] *Bede*, iv. 18.

indiction (*i.e.* 680), and in the sixth year of Æthelred, King of the Mercians, the seventeenth of Aldwulf, King of the East Angles, and the seventh of Hlothaire, King of Kent.[1] The order of these Royal names is notable.

"Theodore, by the grace of God, Archbishop of the Isle of Britain and of the City of Canterbury, being president, and the other venerable bishops of the island sitting with him, the Holy Gospels being laid before them at the place which in the Saxon tongue is called Heathfelth, they conferred together and expounded the true and orthodox faith as our Lord Jesus in the flesh delivered the same to His disciples who saw His bodily presence and heard His words, and as it is delivered in the creed of the Holy Fathers, and by all holy and universal synods in general, and by the consent of all approved doctors of the Catholic Church. They thereupon affirmed their belief in accordance with the Holy Fathers and confessed, properly and truly, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, a Trinity consubstantiated in Unity and Unity in Trinity, that is one God in three consubstantial subsistences or Persons, of equal glory and honour.

"After much more of this, pertaining to the confession of the true faith," says Bede, the Synod added: "We have received the five holy and general Councils of the Blessed Fathers acceptable to God—*i.e.* that of the 318 bishops, who were assembled at Nice

[1] It will be noted that Wessex is not named; it was then in a state of anarchy.

against the most impious Arius and his tenets; and that of Constantinople of the 150 against the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius and their tenets: and the first of Ephesus of the 200 against the most wicked Nestorius and his tenets; and that of Chalcedon, of 630 against Eutyches and Nestorius and their tenets; and again, that of Constantinople in a fifth council in the reign of Justinian the younger, against Theodorus and the epistles of Theodoret, and Ibas and their arguments (dogmata), against Cyril."

Again, a little lower: "We receive the synod held in the City of Rome in the time of the most blessed Pope Martin in the eighth indiction, and in the ninth year of the most pious Emperor Constantine, *i.e.* Constans II.: and we receive and glorify our Lord Jesus Christ as they glorified Him, neither adding nor diminishing anything, anathematising those with heart and mouth whom they anathematised and receiving those whom they received, glorifying God the Father, who is without beginning, and His only Begotten Son, begotten of the Father before the world, and the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son in an ineffable manner, as those holy apostles, prophets, and doctors whom we have above mentioned did declare. And we, all who with Archbishop Theodore have thus expounded the Catholic faith, have also subscribed."

It will be noted that nothing is said here about the contemplated meeting at Constantinople nor

about the attendance of the English bishops being invited there. It merely affirms the position maintained by the anti-Pope Martin and his irregular Lateran Synod.

Let us now turn elsewhere.

It would seem that at this time Milan still retained a good deal of its autonomy.

We accordingly find that, instead of taking part in the Synod of Rome, Mansuetus, Archbishop of Milan, held a synod and sent a letter of his own to the Emperor, which is still extant, recommending to him the examples of his predecessors Constantine and Theodosius the Great. He then recites his adhesion to the five Œcumenical Councils, and continues with a profession of his faith which, as Hefele says, is a New Creed which is said to have been composed by the Priest Damian, afterwards Bishop of Pavia.

Milan was not the only Italian metropolitan represented by a special delegate at Constantinople. Ravenna was similarly so represented, which shows that the *Liber Pontificalis* is mistaken in speaking of the autonomy of Ravenna having entirely ceased at this time. On the other hand, bishops were also present at Pope Agatho's Synod who represented sees outside the Empire. Thus there were present a good many bishops from Lombardy, and two bishops and a deacon representing the Gallican Episcopate, but by far the majority came from Italy, Sicily, and the Greek provinces east of the Adriatic, but subject to the Latin Patriarchate.

It is plain, however, that the Roman Synod was very far from being a representative gathering of the Western Patriarchate, and it would appear from the signatories to its Acts that it really only represented in tolerable completeness the Italian and neighbouring sees. France, as we have seen, was represented by three individuals only, while it is very doubtful whether England was represented at all, for in regard to Wilfrid, the exiled Bishop of York, it seems to me there has been, as usual, a mystification. He no doubt signed the Acts of the Synod, but the form of his signature is astounding. It reads thus: *Legatus venerabilis synodi per Britanniam constitutus.* This statement and what it implies is accepted by Baronius, who is still treated as an authority in some quarters, and notably by his recent champion named Danemberg. His fantastic and absurd analysis of the case of Honorius has, however, been pounded to dust in the admirable criticism of Hefele. It is, in fact, a good proof of his lack of all historical judgment. Hefele (who mistakedly calls Wilfrid an archbishop) says quite fairly that he was qualified to testify to the faith of England, but not as a deputy of the English Episcopate. Not only was he not present at the English Synod, but he was on terms of violent antagonism with Archbishop Theodore and the English Episcopate, and it is indeed strange that he should have been permitted to sign such an important document in such terms. There seems to me to be good reason for believing that Wilfrid was not present at the

actual Synod in any official position. His position must have been ambiguous until he was cleared by the Roman authorities, for appearances pointed to his having been a contumacious bishop, and his archbishop against whom he was rebelling is spoken of in very high terms in the letter addressed by the Pope and Synod to the gathering at Constantinople, to which Wilfrid must have been privy if he was present at the Council. What is still more remarkable is that Æddi never refers to this Roman Synod and its doings, nor to Wilfrid's presence there, a fact he would not wilfully have omitted, since it was so much to the glory of his protégé.

The object of the Roman Synod was no doubt to support the Pope in his pronouncement on the subject of Monothelism, and to furnish the delegates with official instruction. It will be interesting to give the names of these delegates with the "style" they adopted when they presently came to sign the Acts of the Constantinople Conference. The first ecclesiastical signatures were those of the three delegates of the Pope whose *Primacy* no one contested. These were the Bishop Theodore, the priest George, and the deacon John, holding the place of (*i.e.* deputies of) the most blessed Agatho (*locum gerens Agathonis*), Œcumenical Pope of the City of Rome. Theodore the priest went as a delegate from his namesake the Archbishop of Ravenna. John, the Bishop of Portus, Basil, Bishop of Gortyna in Crete, Abundantius, Bishop of Palermo,

and John, Bishop of Reggio, went as delegates on behalf of the Synod that had been held at Rome. John, Bishop of Thessalonica, went as Papal Vicar for that province, a post which he had held for some time. Stephen, Bishop of Corinth, also acted as delegate of the apostolic see of Old Rome. Such were the delegates of the Latin Patriarchate, who alone represented its various sections.

When they had received their orders they set sail for Constantinople, where they were received with distinction by the Emperor, at whose expense they were entertained and were put up in the famous palace of Placidia, and on a Sunday they took part in a very solemn procession to the Blachernæ suburb of the city.

Meanwhile, the Patriarch Theodore had been deposed, probably because he was not sufficiently complacent, and had been succeeded by George as Patriarch of Constantinople. On the same day that the Italian deputies arrived, the Emperor issued a *Sacra* to the latter bidding him summon all the metropolitans and bishops belonging to his jurisdiction (*i.e.* to the Patriarchate of Constantinople), so that the disputed question about God's Will might be carefully examined. He further stated in it that he proposed to acquaint Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch (who was apparently living at the capital, his own see having been desolated by the Saracens), so that he might also send metropolitans to represent it, and informing him of the

similar message he had sent to the Pope and of the arrival of the Italian deputies.[1] We do not hear of any similar letters to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and it is quite plain that up to this point there was no intention to treat the meeting as a General Council.

The Assembly met on the 7th of November in a domed chamber (*trullus*) whence it was afterwards named. At this meeting the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were present (the latter probably then living at Constantinople since his metropolis was occupied by the Saracens), the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem were quite nominally represented by priests (but not by bishops), while the Pope was represented, as we have seen, by ecclesiastics of high rank. The Emperor presided at several sittings but took no part in the theological discussion, and the Gospels were placed in the midst of the gathering as a symbolic witness to the presence of a higher Person. We cannot doubt that the verdict of what I must call the Spurious Council was obtained by the exercise of all kinds of irregular methods, which entirely destroy the authority claimed for it. Not only was it summoned quite irregularly, and only represented a section of the Church, but the most glaring durance and pressure were exercised upon its members. The Patriarch of Constantinople was deposed by the Emperor before it began its sittings, and this, as has been argued even by

[1] Mansi, xi. 202. Hefele, *loc. cit.*

Roman Catholic writers, because of his want of complacency.

Another Patriarch, namely, Macarius of Antioch, was deposed after the Council, for the stand he had made in defence of what had been virtually the universal opinion of the Eastern Church only a short time before, while his associates, Stephen, Polychronius, Epiphanius, Anastasius, and Leontius, were sent to Rome to be put under discipline. The last two were converted and received back, but the rest were imprisoned in various monasteries. Instead of Macarius, we find among the signatures to "the Acts" that of a certain Theodore, who is styled Bishop of Theopolias or Antioch. It was only at the seventh session that George, the Patriarch of Constantinople, gave way, and there are few spectacles more indecent in history than the way in which the great majority of the Eastern bishops, who only a short time before had been almost violent champions of Monothelism, now submitted to Erastian influence and took the other side, while three of the principal supporters of the older view, as the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us, were imprisoned in different monasteries. To complete the tale of shame, Theodore, the dispossessed Patriarch of Constantinople, having recanted his Monothelism, was presently again appointed Patriarch there.

Whatever may be said of the irregularity of the proceedings and the want of authority of this spurious Council, however, one thing is perfectly clear, namely, that the result was a great triumph

for the Emperor Constantine, who succeeded by it in doing what his predecessors had completely failed to do, namely, in reuniting the Church and doing away with a schism which threatened to sap the very foundations of the civil authority. From this time Monothelism, as an openly professed faith, really disappeared from the orthodox Church in the East and West. It survived only in a small community in and near the Lebanons, called Maronites, who, according to William of Tyre, only abjured Monothelism in 1182, and joined the Latin Church. The Eastern so-called heretical sects—the Nestorians, Jacobites, Abyssinians, and Armenians—have apparently never abjured Monothelism.

As I have said, Æddi in his *Life of Wilfrid* has nothing to say of the above-named Roman Synod of 125 bishops convened by Pope Agatho to strengthen his hands in his efforts to oppose Monothelism. He does, however, mention another Roman Synod of fifty bishops which, according to him, was specially summoned to try the questions arising out of the expulsion of St. Wilfrid from his see. No such Synod is mentioned elsewhere, except by Bede, who follows him, nor are any Acts of such a Synod extant, nor is it credible that a special Synod of the Metropolitan province should have been summoned to try such an everyday occurrence as the deprivation of a bishop. Like so many other statements of Æddi, this one has the appearance of being in a large degree a great exaggeration

if not a falsification. It may well be that some committee of the Synod which was then sitting did sit as an appellate court on Wilfrid's petition, but the whole colour of the transaction has been entirely altered by Æddi, and not by Æddi alone but also in a well-known document first published by Spelman, and from him by Labbe (vi. 579) and Mansi (xi. 179), and professing to report the doings of a third Synod held at Rome at this time in regard to the English Church. It has mixed up matters very much, and is given by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, iii. 131–135. The MS. from which this document was taken has not been identified, and, as I have tried to show in the Introduction, it is a falsification of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, like others given by William of Malmesbury, which were used in the fight between the Archdioceses of Canterbury and York.

With these words of caution, let us turn to what Æddi has to say about Wilfrid's appeal and its result. He tells us that a Synod sat in "the Basilica of our Lord Jesus Christ known as the Constantiniana," *i.e.* the Lateran, which was attended by more than fifty bishops and priests. This gathering, according to him, was addressed by Agatho, who is styled by him most holy and most exceedingly blessed (*sanctissimus ac ter beatissimus*) Bishop of the Holy Catholic and Apostolical Church, and he professes to give some sentences from the speech; *inter alia*, Agatho is made to call attention to the anxiety which he felt

in regard to a dissension which had recently arisen in the churches of the British Isles, where by the grace of God the number of the faithful had much increased. Reports of this, he adds, had reached him from those who had come thither as well as from written statements in regard to it.

Æddi goes on to say that a committee of the Synod was appointed to consider the case, which was presided over by Andrew, Bishop of Ostia, and John, Bishop of Portus Romanus. They reported that they had sat for some days with the co-bishops (*coëpiscopis atque confamulis*), that they had examined certain documents which had been sent from the British Islands and been addressed to the Pope; as well as those which had been sent by Theodore the Archbishop who had formerly been sent thither by the Apostolic See, accusing a certain fugitive bishop, named Wilfrid, Bishop of the holy church of York, who was dear to God. He had been driven from his see by the aforesaid archbishop, and had appealed to the Apostolic See. In these papers many questions were raised. They had not found, however, that he had committed any breaches of the Holy Canons deserving of degradation, nor that he had been rightly deposed; but he had, on the contrary, observed moderation, and had not mixed himself up in factious strife. The Pope, says Æddi, now informed the Synod that Wilfrid was waiting in the anteroom (*prae foribus nostri secretarii esse, narratus*), having with him the petition which he

wished to present. He was then admitted into the *secretarium*, *i.e.* probably the sacristy, or else some room used for meetings of the bishop and clergy and the transaction of ecclesiastical business.[1] Wilfrid then addressed himself in humble terms to the assembled fathers, asking the Pope, whom he styles "Your Pontifical Holiness," to hear his humble petition. The Pope consented to do this, and it was thereupon read by John the Notary in the presence of the whole assembly. Æddi professes to give the document at length; but it has a suspicious look, since it is so different to other contemporary documents of a similar kind. In it Wilfrid calls himself the humble and unworthy Bishop of Saxony (*episcopus Saxoniae*), which is a curious phrase, and says how "by Divine guidance he had gone to that Apostolical height (*ad hoc Apostolicum fastigium*), as to a fortified place and a strong tower, whence the pattern (*normam*) of all the sacred Canons was distributed to all Christian churches. . . . The Pope already knew from his (Wilfrid's) *viva voce* statement and from the written narrative already presented that no canonical fault had been found in him, while, on the other hand, certain invaders (*invasores*) of his Episcopate, by an illegal presumption and contrary to the canonical definitions and standards, in an assembly (*in conventu*) with Theodore, the most holy Archbishop of the Church of the Kent-Men, together with other

[1] Bright, 331.

bishops there assembled, had planned (*moliti sunt*) in a robber-like way (*raptorum more*) to invade, take away, and appropriate the see which for ten years and more he had with God's Grace ruled over, and uncanonically to divide it among three bishops." The mention of three bishops shows that Wilfrid included Lindissi at this time in the Northumbrian kingdom, to which it had been added by Alchfrid.

"Although Theodore, the most holy Archbishop, had done this in his (Wilfrid's) lifetime and without his acquiescence, on his own authority and without the assent of any other bishop, he (Wilfrid) dared not accuse him of it (*accusare non audeo*) since he had been appointed by the Holy See (mark the dexterous irony of these phrases). If it should be found that all this had been done illegally, and that he had been deprived although he had committed no canonical fault, nor had attempted to get back his see by any secular force or means, but had merely noted the facts to his brother bishops and dependents (*confamulos atque consacerdotes*)—then let the archbishop be called upon to reinstate him and to deprive the intruders, but under any circumstances he would accept any finding of the Pope and the bishops sitting with him. If it was thought wise to appoint more bishops, let them be selected in canonical fashion and by election at a synod and not be imported from the outside, and let them be such as he could serve God with, in peaceful unity."

Apart from certain sarcastic touches aimed at

the archbishop, there is no actual fault to be found with the tone and temper of this address (which I have epitomised), which are seemly and deferential if pervaded by artful special pleading. They no doubt seem to make out a reasonable case for the petitioner, who apparently deemed himself *de facto* if not *de jure*, a kind of metropolitan and largely co-equal with Theodore, and resented changes being made in the Northern Province without his assent. It will also be conceded that if Æddi reports the phraseology used, and not, as is most probable, a complete travesty, it was well adapted to tickle the ears of the Roman court, to which such an appeal was no doubt very grateful as a great concession to the appellate jurisdiction of Rome. To this petition Æddi makes Agatho respond, approving of the peaceful and moderate language and conduct of Wilfrid. He then professes to give the finding of the Synod. It runs thus: "We declare and decree that Bishop Wilfrid, dear to God, should be reinstated in the bishopric which he recently held (*Statuimus, atque decernimus ut Wilfrithus . . . episcopatum quem nuper habuerat, recipiat*).[1] The bishops who have been appointed by the archbishop should be expelled (*expulsis*), and others of Wilfrid's selection with whom he can live peaceably be put in their place." It then goes to say that if any one in future should dare to act against these statutes of the Synod or refuse to obey them, or should after

[1] Æddi, ch. 32.

whatsoever length of time infringe them either as a whole or in part, he was to be punished by the authority deduced from Saint Peter, the chief of the Apostles; if a bishop, by deprivation, and be subject to eternal anathemas. Similarly, if he was a priest or a deacon or was in inferior orders (*inferioris gradus ecclesiae*), a clerk, monk, or layman of whatever rank (*cujuslibet ditionis*), or a King!!! (*vel rex*), he was to be excluded from communion of the body and blood of the Saviour, nor deemed worthy to see his terrible advent (*nec terribilem Ejus adventum dignus appareat conspicere*).

On the other hand, any one who should receive the pronouncement with sincere devotion and perfect satisfaction, with intent to carry out the decision, should experience the favour of the Lord in the realm of the living and possess eternal happiness hereafter and should share it with all the saints who dwell in the Divine presence, and this as a reward for his obedience (which God loves better than all sacrifices), as announced in the words, "Come ye blessed of My Father, receive the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

The phraseology of this decree is most unusual, most suspicious, and indeed incredible, and has the appearance of being a sophistication; note especially the mention of the King at the very end of all the other classes. Apart from this, it was not the fashion of the Roman court to humiliate and

mortify one of its great dignitaries against whom it had no direct grievance, and in this case one especially selected by it for a post of great distinction and difficulty, and highly lauded by the Pope in his letter to the Emperor (which was a contemporary document), by using words like those quoted in the decree about him. It seems to me to be very obviously a concoction.

As will be seen presently, it was virtually ignored by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Britain. It is noteworthy that of all the details of these events which are said to have occurred at Rome, Bede has not a word to say. He merely tells us that Wilfrid went to Rome and was declared by the unanimous agreement of Agatho and a large number of bishops to have been unjustly accused, and to be "worthy of a bishopric." (Even these phrases seem to be an epitome of Æddi's language, and to involve an exclusion by Bede of what he doubtless thought was Æddi's inflated rhetoric.) As the Bishop of Bristol says, it implies that definite charges (of course very grave) had been preferred against Wilfrid by the English Church.

Æddi says that after spending many days at Rome, Wilfrid set out on his return, having first visited various holy sites to collect relics of the Saints meant for the comfort of the churches of Britain; each one of these was duly labelled with the name of the Saint to whom it belonged. He also took with him many other things for the adorning of

the House of God. Thomas of Ely mentions among these a privilege for his own monastery of Ely, which he had been asked by King Æthelred of Mercia to secure for him.[1] This was doubtless an invention, and we have no early authority for it. He traversed Champagne (Campania), and having crossed the mountains arrived in the realm of the Franks, where he found that his late friend and patron, Dagobert, had been recently killed in a conspiracy of great chiefs (*per dolum ducum*) and with the consent of the bishops.[2] These bishops had been intruded into various sees by the truculent major-domo Ebroin, in whose light the young King stood. One of the regicide bishops waylaid Wilfrid with a large army, with the intention of plundering his retinue, selling them as slaves or killing them. He brought Wilfrid before Yverwin, the chief of the judges (*dux judicum*). According to Æddi, the latter spoke roughly to him, asking him by what rash impulse he had traversed the region of the Franks, and said he was worthy of death for having lent help to assist King Dagobert to return from Ireland, for the latter had been a destroyer of cities and, like Rehoboam the son of Solomon, a despiser of the counsels of his elders, had put burdens on the people and despised the bishops, for which crimes he had been killed and his body buried.

"Wilfrid" (says his biographer) "replied in a humble strain" (which was not quite his way): 'I speak the truth,' he said, 'by Jesus Christ, and by

[1] *Vit. St. Ethel.*, 19. [2] *Ib.* 33.

St. Peter the Apostle. I declare I do not lie when I say that I helped the exiled King to return with the intention not of bringing harm but good to his people, and after he had promised to be a builder of towns, a cherisher of the citizens, a follower of the elders, and a defender of the Church of God.' 'What,' he said, 'would you have done other than I did, most worthy bishop, if an exile from our country of Royal blood had appealed to you?'"

The bishop, according to Æddi, answered him by quoting Chronicles ix. 19 and Genesis xxviii. 26, and ending, "May the Lord be with you and St. Peter be your help."[1] All this rhetoric is carefully constructed to magnify his hero's importance. At length, after a long journey, Wilfrid arrived in England, bearing with him "the standard of victory, namely, the written judgment of the Apostolic See, and peaceably went to greet his King" (*i.e.* the King of Northumbria). This is an almost comical phrase under the circumstances. He humbly showed the King, we are told, the judicial pronouncement of the Apostolic See with the added assent and subscription of the Synod and with the bullæ and seals attached. After this he showed the documents to all the princes living in those parts, and to the servants of God assembled in a Witan or Parliament. They were not long in discovering that the documents contained statements "unpleasant to them and contrary to their wishes," a mild description for a very

[1] Æddi, ch. 33.

aggressive pronouncement if it was really framed in Æddi's language. Certain of them spurned it with contempt. Not only so, but they went the length of saying it was not genuine, and that the judgment was a venal one and had been obtained by payment. The words are: "*Diffamaverunt . . . ut pretio redempta essent scripta.*" This is expressly stated by Æddi, and, whether true or not, goes to show that the corrupt administration of the Roman Curia was already in full vigour, or such remarks would not have been made, and if made would not have been believed.

The result was, that the King and Witan decreed the imprisonment of Wilfrid for nine months without any honour (*sine ullo honore*)—meaning, no doubt, with stringent conditions. No mention is made of Theodore as taking part in this conviction and sentence, both of which are also omitted by Bede. Æddi says the bishop was confined in his cell dressed only in his vestment (*in solo suo vestimento*)—possibly meaning in lay dress. His dependents were scattered, and none of his friends were allowed to see him. Meanwhile, he adds that the Queen appropriated Wilfrid's reliquary,[1] filled with relics "which horrifies me to relate" (*quod me enarrantem horruit*), says Æddi. She wore it round her neck in the house and when driving out.[2]

[1] *Chrismarium*, originally a vessel to hold the chrism, but afterwards applied to a small receptacle for relics (Bright, 339, note 5).

[2] Æddi, ch. 34.

The story above related has given rise to much discussion and many polemics, and it is difficult to steer one's way among its difficulties. It seems plain that Wilfrid, who was a high-born person thoroughly fitted for an episcopal career and well educated, felt a very natural pique when, being already a bishop and an Englishman, he was virtually superseded and passed over by the Pope when he appointed Theodore to the Archdiocese of Canterbury. To this goal he may well have aspired, and he possibly might have secured it if he had not been by origin and ties a Northumbrian, a fact which would make him a *persona ingrata* in Kent. It is also probable that he in consequence received Theodore on his arrival very frigidly and perhaps treated him superciliously, as he was capable of doing. When by Theodore's tact the double bishopric of Wilfrid and Chad in Northumbria was put an end to and the latter went to Mercia, Wilfrid went to York. Once seated there, that proud person and great champion of Church rights very probably remembered that no less a personage than Pope Gregory had arranged that York was to be an archdiocese and had further suggested that its archbishop should have twelve suffragans, and that Paulinus had virtually been treated as an archbishop, and perhaps, though this is doubtful,[1] received the pall. There is much to be said, therefore, for Wilfrid's attitude when he opposed the intervention of Theodore in the affairs of York,

[1] See Howorth, *St. Augustine and his Mission*, lxxii.

and especially his dividing the York diocese without the acquiescence and consent of its bishop. The act, however otherwise desirable, and in fact necessitated by the growth of the Christian community, was passed in what must be held to have been an arbitrary and irregular if not uncanonical way. It must be further added that the deprivation of his see and of the large possessions of his two abbeys, to which he had a perfect title by royal grant, were very excessive measures to be exacted as a punishment for Wilfrid's assertion of his rights as bishop, and formed a dangerous precedent. On the other hand, other facts have to be remembered. We cannot doubt that the deprivation and confiscation in question were very largely if not entirely the work of the Northumbrian King, who, as we have seen, had a very serious grievance against Wilfrid, and that in consequence Wilfrid had been expelled and was an outlaw at the time when Theodore carried out his plan (on which his mind had long been made up) of dividing the overgrown dioceses. Perhaps, again, if Wilfrid had been less haughty and less trenchant in his assertion of what he deemed the supreme rights of the Church and of his own dignity, and had been blessed with a little more of that great lubricator, humility, the whole solution might have been different. What is plain, and it is a most important element in the issue, is that his attitude was entirely disapproved of by the head of the English Church hierarchy and his suffragans, and by, so far as we know, the great

majority of the lay people of Northumbria, certainly by those of any importance; and lastly, that the English clergy themselves sent a statement of the case against him to Rome, no doubt after they had heard that he had appealed thither.

The real truth about what happened at Rome we shall never know, for we only have the *ex parte* and most biased story of Wilfrid's biographer to guide us. We have to steer between two possibilities. We may be sure that the Roman authorities would be highly gratified by having an appeal made to them to settle an internal difficulty in the English Church, the first suit of the kind on record, and that they would make the best use of it. We may be sure also that Wilfrid, with his strong ultramontane views and ultrapapal notions, was a very grateful person at Rome, and that much would be done for him if possible, especially in a case where a bishop, as the facts seem to show, was being harassed by a secular prince: the latter's personal grievances would weigh little in the other scale. On the other hand, Theodore was himself the nominee of the Holy See—a person of high character, knowledge, and prestige, and one too who by his tact had largely reduced the chaotic Church in England to order. He was, further, the head of the English hierarchy, and a decision given in favour of Wilfrid would necessarily humiliate him. From the official reports of the Roman Synod as reported by Æddi it seems clear that substantially the verdict on the English case was given in

favour of Wilfrid. We can hardly suppose, however, that it was given in the terms contained in Æddi's report and as contained in the documents he professes to quote, which were probably those shown to the Witan, and upon which it acted when Wilfrid was finally condemned by it. If genuine, they must be pronounced to be quite tactless and exasperating in their terms and substance. So much so, that it is not to be wondered at that they were declared by Wilfrid's enemies at the Witan to have been paid for and to have been therefore venal. The result showed how useless it also was, and how much Rome lost by its want of foresight and prudence.

What followed was remarkable, very remarkable if the modern theories of the Roman Church are to be accepted, that the Pope was virtually as potent a person in the Church in the seventh century as he has become in the twentieth. Æddi distinctly says that at the Witan (which, be it remembered, comprised all the high Church dignitaries as well as the lay ones) the Pope's letters were treated with contumely (*contumaciter quidam ex eis respuerunt*) and were declared to be forgeries. Nor could we have a greater proof of the real as contrasted with the alleged extent of the papal jurisdiction and potency in ecclesiastical matters at this time, than that a solemn pronouncement given in favour of a bishop was followed as a direct consequence by his immediate imprisonment.

This is not all. It was not the King and his Witan only who despised the alleged decrees of the Pope and Council at Rome, but Theodore himself and the other English ecclesiastics. They not only protested against, but proceeded to ignore the whole of them; Theodore very soon after made two additional bishops in Northumbria without any reference to or consultation with Wilfrid. The modern Roman controversialists have been put into a difficulty by these facts, which show that ultramontanism did not in fact exist in the English Church at this time, or, if it did, that it had only one champion, namely, Wilfrid. In order to get round the difficulty, they allege that that bishop was imprisoned and deposed not for pressing a Roman decision on the English Church, but for supporting it with forged documents — a very dangerous argument; not dangerous merely, but futile, since it implies that the Roman Synod presided over by a Pope was either a mere collection of rogues and its decrees invalid, or was at the mercy of rogues who could palm off false documents as its acts. It seems quite clear from Bede's attitude and reticence that he felt the position of his Church had been cruelly compromised by the whole affair, and that discreet silence about its details was the best policy for a Church historian to adopt.

Æddi professes to give the address made by Wilfrid to his friends when saying good-bye to them, in which he tried to console them by quoting some passages from the Bible, such as Psalm cv. 13,

and Hebrews xii. 1 and xii. 5.[1] After delivering himself thus, he was given into the custody of the Prefect Osfrith, who was governor of a place the identification of which is uncertain. Æddi says: *praeerat in Bromnis, urbe regis.* It has been identified with Bamborough, but Bamborough is unmistakably referred to by Æddi elsewhere and distinctly called Bebbanburgh. Others have thought it to be Broomridge, in the parish of Ford, in Northumberland; others, again, that it was Brunanburgh.

There he was immured in a dungeon into which the sun's light did not penetrate by day, nor was there a lamp by night, but Æddi would have us believe that it was miraculously illuminated, much to the terror of the custodians. After a while the King promised to restore him to his bishopric and to give him not a few gifts if he would acquiesce in the judgment and sentence which had been passed upon him, and deny that the Canonical Statutes which professed to have come from the Apostolic See were genuine. According to Æddi, he replied humbly but firmly, that he would rather have his head cut off than do any such thing.[2]

The position is one which very naturally suggested a miracle, and a miracle was accordingly forthcoming. When Wilfrid had been in custody some time it came about, we are told, that the wife of the Prefect fell ill; her limbs became rigid and

[1] Æddi, ch. 35. [2] *Ib.* ch. 36.

cold, her eyes cloudy, and she seemed to be breathing her last. Whereupon her husband hastened to see his prisoner, fell on his knees, confessed his sins, excused what he was doing on the ground that he was only carrying out the royal orders, and implored him in the name of God to restore his wife. Wilfrid consented, scattered holy water over her, prayed to God asking for His help, and put some consecrated water on her mouth. "Thereupon in a sluggish fashion, and drawing a long breath, she opened her eyes and began to show signs of life, her limbs began to get warm again and her tongue to move, and she returned thanks to God." "She is still living," says Æddi, who gives us these details, "and Æbbe, the Abbess (*i.e.* the Abbess of Coldingham), is wont tearfully to relate the story."[1] This saga illustrates the ingrained belief in methods of curing diseases by magic which had invaded the Church at this time.

Æddi adds that as a result of these events the Prefect felt it impossible to continue in his office, constrained as he was on the one hand by his duty to his King, and on the other by his devotion to Wilfrid. He therefore sent messengers to Ecgfrid imploring him to relieve him of his post; the King was very angry, and ordered Wilfrid to be taken to his town called Dynbaer (*i.e.* Dunbar, on the Scottish coast, a very strong place naturally and artificially), the governor of which

[1] Æddi, ch. 37.

was called Tydlin, and who had a ferocious temper. He was commanded to put manacles on his hands and feet, and to see that he was kept apart from other men. Tydlin duly told the smiths to make some iron shackles, which were put on the limbs of the imprisoned bishop, but a miracle again intervened. They always proved to be either too big, so that they fell off, or too small, so that they could not be put on. Clearly, says Bishop Browne, the smith was anxious to avoid the fate of Osfrith's wife.[1]

At length, adds Æddi, while the King and Queen were making a perambulation through the cities, castles, and villages in their realm, daily rejoicing and feasting and surrounded with secular pomp, they arrived at the monastery of Colodaesburg (*i.e.* Coldingham, in Berwick), where, as we have seen, Æbbe, sister of King Oswin and aunt of the reigning Queen, was abbess. While staying there the latter, like Pilate's wife, was visited by a demon and was terribly flogged. The next day at daybreak the abbess went to visit the Queen and found her limbs all tied as in a knot, while she was apparently dying. When the King arrived he asked in a broken voice how this terrible result had occurred. Thereupon Æbbe, according to Æddi, repeated to him the various indignities which Wilfrid had suffered, how he had been deprived of his bishopric without committing any fault and been driven into exile; how he had gone to Rome

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 158.

and returned therefrom bringing with him the decrees of the Holy See; how these orders had not only been treated with contempt, but, worse still, how the saint had been put in prison; "and now, my son," she said, "do as thy mother wishes, remove his chains, return the relics which the Queen has been wearing about her neck (much to her ultimate harm), and if thou wilt not restore him to his bishopric, let him (which would be the best) go free and depart from the realm. Then, according to my judgment, thy wife will not die; but if thou refusest, God be the witness, thou wilt not go unpunished." Thereupon the King followed her counsel, and the bishop was allowed to depart with his relics and his friends, while the Queen got better.[1]

This story, like many others, was, we can hardly doubt, based on a pious fraud in which, by the connivance of the abbess and of those friendly to Wilfrid, a very human demon was allowed to have access to the Queen's chamber and belaboured her within an inch of her life, and simulated the conduct of a real if somewhat theatrical devil.

When Wilfrid left Northumbria, Æddi tells us that with his companions he sought refuge "in a southern realm," really in Mercia. He was welcomed by Berhtwald, the nephew of Æthelred, King of the Mercians, who begged him to stay with him and gave him some land from his possessions, on which Wilfrid founded a small monastery, which, says our author, is still possessed by his

[1] Æddi, ch. 39.

monks. On hearing of the arrival of the Bishop, Æthelred and his Queen, who was the sister of Ecgfrid, and who were incited by that Northumbrian King, insisted that Berhtwald was at his peril to continue to harbour the fugitives for a day longer. He therefore expelled them, but the monks remained. Wilfrid then went on to the West Saxons, among whom Centwine was ruling. There he only stopped a short time, for the Queen (who was the sister of Eormenburga, Ecgfrid's wife, and Wilfrid's old enemy in the North) incited the King against him, and once more he had to move on. It is probable that Wilfrid had been described to them by the Northumbrian King as a haughty, exacting, and turbulent person. None of these facts are reported by Bede, and we owe them all to the very one-sided and largely incredible narrative of Æddi, Wilfrid's apologist and biographer.[1]

Wilfrid was now in a difficult position. He felt there was no safety or peace for him, either on this side of the Channel or beyond the seas, where even the influence of Ecgfrid extended. He accordingly determined to go to a region outside the reach of that potent enemy, and where a career was open to him as a missionary. This he found in the only part of the Anglo-Saxon world where paganism still persisted, and where he had once had a narrow escape of his life, namely, Sussex, and there for the present we will leave him.

Let us now return again to Northumbria, where

[1] *Op. cit.* 90.

the fortunes of the Church in no way flagged because of the enforced absence of the irrepressible fighting Bishop. His early companion, Benedict Biscop (now clearly estranged from him), continued his labours with the patronage and help of King Ecgfrid. The latter presented him with a large estate on the south bank of the Tyne, where he built the famous Monastery of Jarrow, to which we shall return presently. This was probably in the autumn of 680.[1]

Meanwhile the Archbishop continued his great work of dividing the northern dioceses, without molestation from his very troublesome suffragan; and in the year after the Synod of Herutford, and three years after the departure of Wilfrid, the joint diocese of Lindisfarne and Hexham, which was held by Bishop Eata, was divided, Eata retaining the former, while Tunberht, abbot of Ingetlingum (Collingham) was appointed to Hexham. A new diocese was meanwhile constituted for the land of the Picts, who, says Bede, were then subject to the Anglians. The name of the Bishop was Trumwine.[2] The seat of the Pictish Bishop was fixed at the Monastery of Aebbercurnig, situated, says Bede, in the country of the Anglians (*in regione Anglorum*), but in the neighbourhood of the Firth (*in vicinia freti*) which separates the territory of the Anglians from those of the Picts.[3] It is now represented by Abercorn on the Firth of Forth, west of Queensferry. From the passage

[1] Bright, 365. [2] *Bede*, iv. 12. [3] *Op. cit.* 26.

just quoted from Bede, it would clearly seem to have been planted as a missionary see, not within the dangerous territory of the Picts, but just on their frontier and well within the Anglian boundary.[1]

We now read of a daring expedition made by Ecgfrid in Ireland, possibly to punish some attacks on his western possessions and perhaps also some interference in the affairs of Ireland by his subordinates the Picts. Lanigan (iii. 90), on the other hand, suggests that it may have been due to the Irish having given shelter to his brother Aldfrid.

This was in the year 684. The expedition was sent under the command of the leader (*dux*) Berctus (iv. 26), called Berctrid later on (v. 24), and, says Bede, laid waste miserably, a harmless people which had been most friendly to the Anglians, so that not a church or monastery escaped.[2] This cruel inroad is mentioned by the Irish annalist, Tighernach (who, however, dates the event wrongly, and says it took place in Magh Bregh, *i.e.* the plain of Bregh, in East Meath, and also mentions the destruction of many churches). The *Ulster Annals*, which say the same, put it rightly in 684. Tighernach gives the month as June.[3]

In the spring of the same year Trumberht was deposed from the Bishopric of Hexham. Bede

[1] Bede has another reference to the place when he refers to the northern wall standing at a place called in the Pictish language Peanfahel, and by the Anglians Penneltun, about two miles from the monastery of Aebbercurnig (*op. cit.* i. 12).

[2] *Bede*, iv. 26. [3] See Bright, 372, note ; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 260.

does not say why.[1] Eata was transferred from Lindisfarne thither, and St. Cuthberht was unanimously elected to the see of Lindisfarne. This was at a large synod (*non parva*), in the presence of King Ecgfrid and under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore, which was held near the river Aln in Northumberland, near Adtwifyrdi (*i.e.* at the two fords)—perhaps, says Dr. Bright, where the Aln is crossed by two fords near Whittingham.[2] Many messengers were sent to the island of Farne, where the saint was living an anchorite's life. He, however, refused to leave his cell. Thereupon the King, with Bishop Trumwine of Abercorn (called Tuma in the anonymous *Life of Cuthberht*) and a number of monks, went to Bamborough, and crossing the Fairway Strait reached Farne, where they were met by the brethren from Lindisfarne and together they implored the Saint to accept the post, which he was at length constrained to do and returned with them to Twyford, where, in the words of Bede, "he bowed his neck to the yoke." He was not consecrated, however, till the spring, when, on Easter Day, 26th March 685, the ceremony was performed at York by the Archbishop assisted by six bishops.[3] I shall have more to say of Cuthberht presently.

Let us now revert to King Ecgfrid. We may be sure that the terrible desolation of Irish churches and monasteries by him must have greatly

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 28. [2] *Op. cit.* 373.
[3] *Bede*, iv. ; *Vit. Cuth.*, 24 ; *De Mirac. Cuth.*, chap. 21 ; Bright, 374.

exasperated the Columban clergy of Ireland and Scotland, who were also doubtless not very well pleased at the planting of the outpost of the very aggressive southern church on their borders at Abercorn. The Picts themselves would possibly view this settlement as another danger to their independence, and they may have committed some outrage. We are not, however, told that they did so by Bede. He says quite abruptly that the next year, *i.e.* 685, Ecgfrid led an army to waste the province of the Picts. We must remember that it was then ruled by a relative of his own, Bruidi, who is called the son of Beli in the Pictish Chronicle, and who, it has been supposed, was the son of the sister of Talorcan the late king, and was therefore Ecgfrid's cousin. As is well known, the law of succession among the Picts was peculiar, and through females. This invasion, we are told by Bede, was contrary to the advice of Ecgfrid's friends, and notably of St. Cuthberht. The result was a very serious one. Feigning flight, the Picts drew on the over-confident Anglians into an ambush in the defiles of the mountains, and Ecgfrid was killed with the greater part of the forces he had taken with him. This was in the fortieth year of his life and the fifteenth of his reign, on 21st May 685.[1]

The battle is mentioned in the Irish Annals. In those of Ulster it is said to have been fought on Saturday, the 20th of May 685, and it is called

[1] *Bede*, iv. 26.

the battle of Dun Nectain. Symeon of Durham calls it Nectanesmore, which he explains as meaning *Stagnum Nectani*, and he adds that the King's body was buried at Hii, St. Columba's island,[1] where his biographer Adamnan was then abbot. Dun Nechtain, Nectan's Fort, says Plummer, is Dunnichen, under the Sidlaw Hills, east of Forfar, called Dunnechtyn in a charter of William the Lion. "Nechtan's Mere" is Dunnichen Moss.[2] It was so named doubtless from one of the Pictish kings called Nectan, one of whom died in 621. Nennius, par. 57, calls the battle Gueith Linn Garan, *i.e.* the fight of the pool of the heron, *i.e.* the pool formerly occupying the place of Dunnichen Moss.[3] He calls the King of the Picts Birdei (= Bruidi mac Beli), whom he names *fratruelis* of Ecgfrid. He died in 692.[4] Tighernach calls him King of Fortrenn. He had mounted the throne in 672 and died in 693.[5]

Ecgfrid's death took place very shortly after the appointment of St. Cuthberht to the episcopate of Lindisfarne. Cuthberht is said to have prophesied it to his sister, Ælfleda, a year before it happened,[6] while he was on a journey to the great estate which the King had given him, and whither Queen Eormenburga had gone to pass the time of

[1] *Op. cit.*, Rolls series, i. 32.
[2] See Reeves' *Adamnan*, 186, 187 ; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 261.
[3] Bright, 377, note ; Reeves, *op. cit.* 373.
[4] Plummer, ii. 261.
[5] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 262.
[6] Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, ch. 24 ; *Vit. Anon.*, sect. 28.

suspense in a nunnery with her sister.[1] The monastery is identified by Dr. Bright with a little one situated at Dacre, near Penrith, mentioned by Bede,[2] and probably founded by Ælfleda, Ecgfrid's sister. I will tell the story in the words of Dr. Bright. "The day after Cuthberht's arrival (it was Saturday, the 20th of May, at 3 p.m.) the townsfolk, headed by Paga, their reeve, delighting to receive the new bishop as their lord, were showing him their walls, on which just then 'the sun shone fair,' and conducting him to a fountain in the city, 'the wondrous work of Roman hands.' Cuthberht was attended by several of his clergy. Suddenly, while leaning on his staff, he seemed to go through strong mental agitation. His face, usually so bright and sweet, became sad and downcast; after a while he looked up, gazed on the sky, which had rapidly darkened, groaned deeply, and muttered to himself, '*Perhaps even now the contest is decided.*' A presbyter standing close by him asked what he meant. He answered evasively by a general reference to the changing weather, and then to the inscrutable judgment of God; but he straightway returned to the Queen in private, and said to her: 'Set off early on Monday for the Royal City [*i.e.* York], lest haply the King may have fallen: it is not lawful to drive on the Lord's day. I have to go to-morrow to a neighbouring monastery, in

[1] See Bede, *Vit. Cuth.*, 27; Anon. Life of Cuth., *Bede's Works*, vi. 377.

[2] *H.E.*, iv. 32.

order to dedicate the church, and will follow you after the service is completed.' His Sunday sermon was on the necessity of being prepared for any tribulation, and was understood to refer to the return of the pestilence. On the second day there arrived a man who had escaped from the war, and brought tidings 'such as those which filled Edinburgh with terror and anguish after the day of Flodden.' Ecgfrid and his host had crossed the Firth, had even crossed the Tay and destroyed two forts, one of which probably stood at the mouth of the Almond: the native forces by feigned retreats had lured them into a defile at Dun Nechtain. . . . There the King had fallen with nearly all of his men, on the very day and at the very hour when Cuthberht was standing by the Carlisle fountain like one who saw what he dared not reveal."[1]

The death of Ecgfrid doubtless brought solace to the champions of St. Wilfrid. Æddi says that after his quarrel with the latter all went wrong with him.[2] Eadmer in his *Life of Wilfrid* (chap. 43) writes with the spiteful bitterness which characterises so much of ecclesiastical polemics. He tells a story that while Wilfrid was celebrating Mass in Sussex he not merely saw Ecgfrid's death but saw his soul carried off to hell by two demons. In a later passage (in chap. 57) he adds: "That which I said about the damnation of Ecgfrid I confess I have nowhere read, but so many and such

[1] Bright, 375 and 376. [2] *Op. cit.* ch. 24.

famous men have confirmed it to me that I should deem it a great impertinence (*magna impudentia*) to disbelieve it."

On another side we may well believe that a good many of the Celts would attribute the end of the King to the curses and imprecations heaped upon him, as Bede tells us, by the Irish after his devastations of Meath. The fierce curses, as well as the corresponding blessings, which were supposed to have a peculiar form of potency in the mouths of the Irish saints, and in which the Irish peasants still believe, had a special name. They were known in Irish as *fácbala* (literally "leavings"), and were supposed to afterwards attach to particular people or places.[1]

On the death of her husband, Ecgfrid's widow, according to Æddi, entered a nunnery. Thereupon, reversing his former judgment upon her, he says she was thus converted from a Jezebel into a perfect abbess, and from a she-wolf into a lamb.[2]

The immediate effect of Ecgfrid's death was disastrous to his infant missionary effort for bringing the Picts into the fold of the orthodox Roman communion. Bishop Trumwine of Abercorn and his fraternity were driven out. Trumwine distributed his monks among different friendly monasteries, while he himself sought a shelter at St. Hilda's monastery at Whitby, where, with a few of his companions, he spent many years in monastic strictness, leading a life useful not to

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 260. [2] *Op. cit.* ch. 24.

Ornaments on Bishop Trumwine's Cross at Abercorn.

himself only, but to many others."[1] According to Bede's *Life of St. Cuthberht*, a small body of

[1] *Bede*, iv. 26. It is plain from *Bede*, xx. 26, that Trumwine and his brethren lived in a monastery at Abercorn, and that the mission consisted of monks. Bishop Browne claims, and I think with every probability, that, following the custom of the time, Trumwine, when at Abercorn, erected a stately cross marking a preaching-place, and that a considerable fragment of this cross is still in existence. He says that it must have been as important as those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell—that is, a great shaft, 15 to 18 feet high, and adds: "I feel no doubt that the noble fragment which is now placed in great safety in a gallery of the kirk at Abercorn, a part of Lord Hopetoun's gallery, is a piece of Trumwine's cross" (*Theodore and Wilfrith*, pp. 163–64). He gives figures of three sides of this shaft, and also adds some remarks upon it in a later page. He says, *inter alia*, "We should find it difficult to assign any other period than this for the erection of the cross, . . . the pattern shows that the one surviving portion is not nearly the lowest part, and it is 18 inches across at the base. The stone was taken out of a wall after the publication of Dr. John Stuart's great volumes, *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and thus two of the sides not known to him have been revealed, and a large part of a fourth side. . . . The back of the stone is much injured; it is covered with a twofold scroll—that is, two scrolls starting from the opposite sides, which cross and recross up this shaft, forming ovals as on the face of Acca's cross."

"The scroll on another side" (figure 10 of Bishop Browne's *Theodore and Wilfrith*) "is unlike any other scroll that I know, so much of the effect being produced by large, single leaves of very graceful shape and attitude. It reproduces, also, more than the Anglian scrolls usually do, the idea of the various offshoots being tied on to the main stem, as scrolls in modern metal-work are tied on with stout wire wrapped round them and the main stem. With our early Anglian artists the scroll usually swelled out into the shape of a *cornucopiæ*, from which issued the continuance of the main stem, and the offshoot to form the circular curve; this latter is universal in figure 9, which shows another edge of this beautiful stone. On another side the commencement of an upper panel is shown with a pattern of diagonal fretwork. This startling combination of a purely classical scroll with a pattern which used to be thought purely Celtic is exceedingly unusual.

"The broad face shown on figure 16 has a panel of good rectangular fretwork, a panel of good interlacement of two bands, and a dragon panel. . . . The panel when complete had two dragons with their serpentine bodies involved, the lower half of the panel being no doubt exactly like the upper, the lower dragon being shown head downwards" (*op. cit.* 255).

fugitive nuns, from fear of the enemy's army, took refuge in Cuthberht's house at this time.[1]

The whole effect of the defeat of the Northumbrians is not to be measured by any great conquests by the Picts, if by such are meant actual appropriation of Anglian lands. The frontier probably still remained at the Forth, but the tie of the Pictish dependence on the Northumbrian kings was broken, and thenceforward the Picts became independent. Nennius says "the *Saxones Ambrones* (that is, the Northumbrians) never again took tribute from the Picts."[2]

Let us now leave Northumbria and turn to far-off Sussex. Sussex has ever been a secluded and very English part of England, and especially was it so then. As Æddi says, it was rendered impregnable from other provinces by the multitude of its rocks and the density of its woods.[3] Bede says: "It extended behind Kent on the west and south, as far as the West Saxons, and contained lands for 7000 families,"[4] which in more common language meant it was of the extent of 7000 hides. "These," adds Bede, "were at this time mostly pagans." The great forest which girdled it about on the land side was known as Andredeswuuda, which has been explained as the land without dwellings. In Alfred's time, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, it was 200 miles long and 30 wide.[5] The Weald of Kent is the remnant of

[1] *Vit. Cuth.*, ch. 30. [2] *Op. cit.* ch. 17. [3] Æddi, ch. 41.
[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 13. [5] *Vide sub an.* 893.

this forest. It then extended from the neighbourhood of Winchester to the borders of Romney Marsh. Behind this forest, with their faces to the sea, then sheltered the pagan South Saxons. They were ruled by Æthelwalch, perhaps, as I have suggested in a previous volume, a scion of the royal house of Kent, for the pedigree of the Sussex kings given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a palpable and ridiculous invention. Æthelwalch, as we have seen, had become a Christian after marrying the Hwiccian Princess Eaba, and had increased his dominions by a christening-gift from his godfather Wulfhere of Mercia, who had made over to him a strip of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.

We have seen how Wilfrid arrived in Sussex as a fugitive. He is then said to have proceeded with the evangelising of the kingdom. The account given of this work by Æddi and Bede seems to me very strange, although it does not appear to have raised doubts elsewhere. Æddi, who is usually so much more full and detailed than Bede, is at this stage not nearly so much so, and Bede seems in consequence to have followed a more or less legendary story. According to Æddi, Sussex on the arrival of Wilfrid was entirely pagan, "wholly ignorant of the name of God and of the faith," and he seems to imply that Æthelwalch and his queen were still heathens.[1]

As we have seen, Bede distinctly ascribes the conversion of the Sussex king to an earlier date

[1] See Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 225.

and to the influence of Wulfhere, and tells us that Wulfhere's christening gift to him on his baptism was the Isle of Wight and a large portion of Hampshire, and we can hardly doubt that the conversion of the King would mean the conversion of at least a section of his nobles. Those who have accepted Æddi as their guide in analysing the erratic career of Wilfrid have not realised that what he had in view was the exaltation of the fame of his hero and not dry, sober history, and that in this instance, as elsewhere, his aim was to secure the whole glory of the conversion of Sussex for his master.

Since Wulfhere died in 675, the conversion of Æthelwalch as reported by Bede must have taken place before that year, but, inasmuch as he puts it only a short time before Wilfrid's arrival in Sussex (*non multo ante* are his words), it would seem to have been not very long before that date, which entirely destroys the chronology of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* at this time. It puts the gift of the Isle of Wight to Æthelwalch as early as the year 661.[1]

Æddi's story at this point is a considerable exaggeration. He entirely ignores the small Celtic mission mentioned by Bede as existing in Sussex, one of many similar isolated and lonely settlements which the Columban monks in their striving for seclusion, silence, and self-contemplation were forming in so many deserted corners of the Western world. Bede tells us that at this time there was a monk of the Scotic race named Dicul (a name well known to

[1] On this, see Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 225.

students as that of an Irish scholar of the ninth century who composed a well-known mediæval geography entitled *De Mensura orbis terrae*). The Dicul now occupying us had founded a small community at Bosanham (now Bosham) on the Southampton Water near Chichester, also well known in later times as the place whence Harold set sail to visit his relative William the Conqueror. This small monastery was surrounded partly by woods and partly by the sea, and in it five or six monks eked out a very bare and ascetic life. "The neighbouring population," says Bede, "took no heed of them, nor did they in turn preach to them."[1] As a matter of fact they very likely only spoke Irish, and would have a difficulty in making themselves understood.

What is clear is, that when Wilfrid arrived in Sussex the King and Queen and doubtless some of their nobles were already Christians, and probably had by them, one or more chaplains. It may well be, however, that there had been no very definite steps taken to spread the faith, and the failure of the Irish mission at Bosham and the fact that the Isle of Wight was still entirely pagan, proves that there had not been any systematic effort at the conversion of the country and that this was first undertaken by Wilfrid. He himself is reported to have baptized the leaders and great men (*duces ac milites*), while the humbler people were baptized by four of the priests whom he had brought with him, namely, Eappa, Padda, Burghelm, and Oiddi.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. ch. 13. [2] *Bede*, iv. 13.

Bede proceeds to report a more than usually fantastic legend about this conversion, which could only have been invented by some one unfamiliar with the fact that the people of Sussex were skilled mariners and continually lived along the seaboard. According to this story, which is not given by Æddi, there had been a drought for three years before Wilfrid's arrival. Bede says it had been so severe that the people had courted an impious death (*impia nece prostravit*), so much so that it was reported (*ferunt*) that forty or fifty men were wont to join hands and to cast themselves in their despair from the cliffs into the sea. Most auspiciously, on the very day that the general baptism took place a genial fall of rain occurred, refreshing the ground and restoring their green colour to the pastures. The people thereupon abandoned their old faith, put their idolatry to despite, and avowed their belief in the living God. This was not all; the author of the story would have us believe that Wilfrid was the first to teach this seafaring folk the art of sea-fishing. Bede says that, although the sea and rivers thereabout abounded in fish, they only knew how to catch eels. Wilfrid induced them to collect their eel nets (*retibus anguillaribus*): it will be noted that nets are used to catch eels with. "Having," he says, "cast them into the sea, they, by Divine Grace, made a haul of three hundred fish of different kinds. Of these they set apart one hundred for the poor, another for those from whom they had borrowed the nets, and a third for

their own use." We are gravely told that the result of it all was a large harvest of recruits for Wilfrid's mission.[1] We need not dispute the large harvest, but we may well conclude that the art of manufacturing miracles had fallen into a sorry plight at this time.

Bede goes on to say that Æthelwalch now presented Wilfrid with the land of eighty-seven families (*i.e.* with eighty-seven hides), where he might settle with his companions. This was at a place called Selaeseu, which he explains as meaning "the island of the Sea-Calf" (*Vituli marini*). It was afterwards well known as Selsey. He describes it as a peninsula surrounded on all sides save one (where there was an isthmus an arrow's flight across) by the sea, and he tells us the Greeks called such a place *cherronesos*.[2] Æddi says the King gave Wilfrid his own royal vill at "Seolesia" (*sic*), together with eighty-seven *mansiones*.[3]

On this site Wilfrid proceeded to build a monastery, and there he put a number of his companions under "a Rule." This was doubtless the Rule of St. Benedict. Bede adds that they remained there in his time. Over this monastery Wilfrid put Eappa, and Bede specially states that later it also became the home of one of his great friends, Bishop Acca.[4] I have mentioned in an earlier page how it was visited by the plague, and how St. Oswald saved the inmates.[5]

[1] *Bede*, iv. 13. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 13. [3] *Op. cit.* ch. 41.
[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 14. [5] *Ante*, vol. i. 56, etc.

Selsey has long ago disappeared before the advance of the Channel tide. In Camden's time, however, it was still visible at low water.[1]

Wilfrid, according to Bede, remained five years in Sussex—that is to say, till the death of King Ecgfrid—performing his episcopal work and preaching with zeal. Among other things, he also tells us that he gave their freedom to the two hundred slaves (male and female), on the property, who had been presented to him, and whom he had previously baptized. "Thus," as he says, "not only giving them bodily freedom, but rescuing them from the devil."[2]

Meanwhile let us turn to the history of Wessex, which at this time is very obscure.

Bede is of little or no use to us in disentangling the difficulty, for he merely says that "for ten years after the death of Coinwalch there was anarchy in the kingdom of Wessex," without giving us the names of the contending princes. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as we have seen, makes Coinwalch be succeeded by his widow Sexburga, who reigned for only a short time when she was succeeded by Æscwine, whose death is put in the year 676. He was in turn succeeded by Centwine, the terminal syllable of whose name seems to point to his belonging to the same royal stock as Æscwine.

According to the genealogies, Centwine was the brother of Coinwalch,[3] and he would seem to have

[1] *Britannia*, i. 199; Bright, 346, note. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 13.

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *ad an.* 676, and Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, p. 633.

been the leading figure during the ten years' anarchy. Although not mentioned by Bede he is named by Æddi, who tells us that he married a sister of Eormenburga, second wife of Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he drove the Britons to the sea, which is not a very definite statement.

Escwine and Centwine were not the only local chiefs who held sway during the anarchy in Wessex. Another one, not mentioned by Æddi nor Bede nor in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, namely, Cyssa or Cissa, is very definitely mentioned in connection with the early history of Abingdon Abbey, and we can hardly doubt that he was a real person. He was probably a subordinate of Centwine. Let us turn, therefore, to the traditions referring to that foundation.

According to the *Chronicle of Abingdon*, the famous Abbey was founded in the first year of Centwine's reign. The story there told is of course a legend, but is worth repeating as showing what the tradition of the place was. We read that during Centwine's reign there was a petty prince called Cissa, who ruled over Wiltshire and the greater part of Berkshire. He had a local bishop with a see at Malmesbury, but his own capital city was Bedeuwinde (*i.e.* Bedwyn, in Wilts). In the southern part of the town he built a castle which from him was called Cyssebui. He had a nephew called Hean, a rich, powerful, and religious man who had a pious sister called Cilla. When

Hean one day heard the preacher say in the church that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, he began to despise his own wealth and to turn his thoughts to heavenly things. Thereupon his sister Cilla went to her uncle and asked him to make him a grant of land where he could build a monastery. To this Cissa assented, and discovered in the south of Oxfordshire a place called Abba's hill,[1] where it was reported there had previously been a small religious establishment, and as it was a woody district (the Bagley Wood of that period) he proceeded to build a monastery there. This was in the year 685. The new foundation was endowed with much land and money by Cissa, while Hean made over to it his own hereditary property.

Meanwhile his sister Cilla devoted her own share of the heritage to the building of a nunnery near the Thames in a place called Helenstow, where she collected many nuns. Of this she became the abbess. She acquired a small fragment of "the key of the Lord" (*de clavis Domini*), which she inserted in another piece of iron from which she made a small cross. This was put on her breast when she died, and from it the nunnery was dedicated to Saint Cross and Saint Helena. After her death the nuns were transferred to "Wittheham," and presently during the

[1] This was near a vill called Sunninghall, and between two streams, near Bayworth and Chilswell, where Chilswell farm, an old property of the abbey below Henwood (? Hean's wood) now stands. Bright, 298, note 3.

war between Offa of Mercia and Cenwulf, King of the West Saxons, they were dispersed. The small cross was afterwards found accidentally when digging a watercourse, and was transferred to the monks' monastery at Abingdon, where, says our author, it is still preserved with great care and is known as the black cross.

Hean, the brother of Cilla, meanwhile began to build his monastery in honour of Saint Mary on the hill at Abingdon. It did not progress, for what he put up in the daytime was removed at night. Thereupon a certain hermit who lived in a wood at Conemora said to him that he had during the night seen men driving away carts with stones in them. He asked them why they did this, whereupon they replied that God did not wish the church to be built there, and that if they went to Sevekesham, or Sheovesham, they would find the place where the monastery should be planted. They accordingly went, and by the Thames they found a foundation prepared. They had wasted five years, says our author, in vain attempts to build the monastery on the original site. When Cissa died he was buried on the hill at Abingdon, but was afterwards translated to Sevekesham.[1]

[1] *Chronicle of Abingdon*, ii. 268–271. In a note to page vii of the preface, Mr. Stevenson, the editor of the *Abingdon Chronicle*, says that at Bedwyn, where Cissa's palace is said to have been, there still remain the ruins of a castle. Sir R. C. Hoare says that the inner ditch is about 30 feet wide and 20 deep. Not far off are Chilton (Cilla's town) and Henwood (Hean's wood). In another place in the county we find the two names Chilmark and Hendon close together. Perhaps Cilbury Hill also preserves the same

The founder Hean was succeeded as abbot of the monastery by Conan[1] (a Celtic name well known in Brittany).

The anonymous notice of the abbey from which these facts have been derived contains what purports to be an account of the buildings of the Saxon monastery erected by Hean, which would have been more acceptable if it had been more detailed. In it we read that the church was 120 feet long, and was round, both at the east and west end, which doubtless means that it had two apses. The writer says it was built where in his time was the *cellarium monachorum*, and so that the altar stood where the later lavatory was afterwards placed. Within the precincts of the monastery were twelve small habitations (*habitacula*, *i.e.* cells) and as many chapels (*capellae*), and in the former twelve monks ate and drank and slept. There was no cloister as in earlier times, but the whole was surrounded by a high wall. None of the monks were allowed to leave the monastery except for the most serious cause, or for the benefit of the community and with the consent of the abbot. No woman ever penetrated within the walls, and the only occupants were the twelve monks and their abbot, making thirteen in all. They wore black garments (*nigros pannos*). These were not woven from threads (*stamineis*), but were made of skins or hides (*pellicias*). The monks lay

name. He further says that Cilla was otherwise called Ceolswitha, and that her nunnery was built at Wightham, or Witham. *Op. cit.* pp. i, vii, and viii.

[1] *Chronicle of Abingdon*, ii. 272, 273.

down on coarse mats (*cilicia*, so called from having been originally made of Cilician goats' hair) and used covered bowls (*cooperatoria catina*), and they never ate meat except when very ill. At the gate was a dwelling where they could speak with their friends and acquaintances, if they accidentally arrived. On Sundays and festivals they met and said Mass, and also ate together in church. On the principal festival they wore silken cloaks (*cucullis sericis*).[1] At that time there was a small dwelling (*habitatio divitum qui monachilem habebant habitum*). They looked after their own property so long as they lived, but on their death it passed to the monastery.[2]

A document professing to be the will of Hean is extant, to which I have referred in the Introduction. None of the story here preserved by the *Abingdon Chronicle*, and which seems quite rational and trustworthy, is referred to, either by Bede or in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It would appear, in fact, that Cissa was one of the various usurpers who at this time divided authority in Wessex, and was probably subordinate to Centwine, to whom we will now return. He is mentioned in a poem which has been attributed to Aldhelm, and which apostrophises a church built by a certain Bugga, who in it is called "Centwine's daughter." In this poem we are told that, having fought three battles and won three victories, he retired from the world.

[1] *Chr. of Ab.*, ii. 272, 273. [2] *Ib.* 273.

. . . . . .

Qui tamen ante tribus gessit certamina pugnis,
Et ternis pariter confecit bella triumphis,
Sic rexit regnum plures feliciter annos,
Donec conversus cellam migravit in almam.
Inde petit superas meritis splendentibus arces.

This clearly means that at the end of a long and happy reign Centwine withdrew into a monastery. The poem then continues :—

Post hunc successit bello famosus et armis
Rex Cadwalla, potens regni possessor, et haeres.

That is to say, he was succeeded by the powerful Caedwalla as his heir.[1]

We do not know when Centwine died, but as there are two charters extant in which his signature exists in conjunction with that of his successor, and which may be genuine, it would seem probable that he lived for some time after Caedwalla's accession. William of Malmesbury makes him be buried at Glastonbury, and perhaps he may have seen his tomb there.

I believe that Centwine was the father of two famous people. The evidence is largely circumstantial, but it hangs together logically, and if it be true it explains some puzzles. First, there can hardly be any doubt that he was the father of Bugga or Bugge, already named, who was a correspondent of Bishop Boniface, and who in the poem already named, which has been attributed to Aldhelm, is distinctly called his daughter.

Secondly, he would seem to have been the father

[1] Aldhelm, *Op.*, ed. Giles, 115.

of St. Aldhelm himself, the famous Abbot of Malmesbury and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne. Faricius, who wrote Aldhelm's Life, says he was of royal stock and descended from distinguished ancestors (*a clarissimis progenitoribus*). He goes on to say that he was, in fact, the son of Kenten (by whom he doubtless means Kentwine or Centwine).

Before we consider Caedwalla it will be well to turn to Kent and report the very uncertain doings there at this time. We saw how its King Ecgberht was succeeded by his brother Hlothaire. A year later he sustained a serious defeat at the hands of Æthelred, King of Mercia, who mercilessly ravaged his kingdom. One of the results of this defeat seems to have been the setting up of other pretenders to the throne, the domination of Mercia over part of Kent, and the restriction of Hlothaire's authority there to a section only of the kingdom. It would seem that Æthelred put one of the princes of the East Saxons, who were dependents of Mercia, over the parts of Kent which he appropriated, and, as we shall see presently, Bede in describing the succession of Beorhtwald to the archbishopric of Canterbury (which he dates 1st July 692),[1] says that this was when Wihtred and Swaebhard were Kings of Kent. Wihtred was the son of Ecgberht, formerly King of Kent, while Swaebhard has by some been plausibly identified with Swefred, son of Sebbi, King of Essex, named by Bede in an earlier chapter.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 8.

[2] *H.E.*, iv. 11.

A number of spurious charters which occur at this time and purport to convey lands to Æbba, the Abbess of Milford, etc., refer to Swaebhard, and in one of them he is called son of Sebbi. In regard to them Stubbs says: "Granting that they are not genuine, they point unquestionably to a tradition that the Swaebhard of Bede was an East Saxon prince, and, if so, that he was a representative in Kent of the Mercian authority which at some periods of Æthelred's reign was supreme there."[1] Another King of Kent whose name occurs at this time in the spurious charters just mentioned is called Oswini. So far as I can see, he is an entirely fictitious person.

To return to Hlothaire.

As we have seen, according to Bede[2] he succeeded to the Kentish throne in July 673. Later he was severely defeated, and his country was in 676 devastated by Æthelred of Mercia. A doubtful charter makes him convey certain lands at "Sudaneie" in the Isle of Thanet to the Abbess Æbba in the year 678.[3] A more acceptable one with no marks of internal frailty heads the list of facsimiles of charters published by the British Museum. It conveys lands at Westanæ to Abbot Bercuald with the consent of Archbishop Theodore and Hlothaire's brother's son Eadric. This points to the latter having shared his authority, which is supported by the fact that in a short code of Kentish laws their joint names

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 744. [2] *H.E.*, iv. 5.
[3] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, DCCCCLXXXIX.; Birch, *Cart.*, No. 44.

appear.[1] In 680, Hlothaire was present at the Synod of Heathfield with the Kings of the Northumbrians, Mercians, and East Angles. The year is called his seventh one.[2] No other King of Kent is mentioned as being present. His name also occurs among the signatories to the false decree of Archbishop Theodore about the division of dioceses.[3]

Bede reports an interesting story about the battle between Ecgfrid, King of the Northumbrians, and Æthelred of the Mercians, in which Hlothaire is mentioned. In that fight a young man named Imma, who was a friend or dependent of King Ecgfrid's brother Alfwine who was killed there, was struck down and lay apparently dead on the battlefield. Presently he revived, and when wandering about in search of his friends was captured by the troops of the enemy, and taken to their leader, one of Æthelred's thanes or ealdormen. When questioned as to who he was, he tried to disguise the fact that he was a soldier, and pretended to be a poor rustic who had been employed to take food for the soldiers. The thane, suspecting his statement, had his wounds attended to, but when he began to get better he ordered him to be bound so that he should not escape, but this was not found to be possible, for no sooner had those who bound him taken their departure than his chains fell off.

Bede explains this by saying that Imma had a brother named Tunna who was a priest and abbot

[1] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 26 ff. [2] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 17 and 18.
[3] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 152 and 153.

in a town which was named after him, Tunnacaestir (probably Doncaster), who, having heard rumours of his death, went to the battlefield and finding a corpse which he thought was that of his brother, took it to the monastery and buried it, and afterwards said Masses for the release of his soul (*pro absolutione animae*). It turned out that whenever the chains had been put upon him, as previously described, directly one of these Masses was said they fell off. Presently those who looked after him satisfied themselves from his looks, dress, and speech that he was no peasant but a noble. The thane now examined him and promised to spare his life if he would tell the truth about the whole matter. When he had confessed, the thane said he was certainly worthy of death, for he himself had lost all his brothers and relations in the recent fight, but, having given him his word, he would not break it. He thereupon sold him in London to a certain Friesian. The latter also found it impossible to bind him, and accordingly gave him the privilege of redeeming himself if he could find the price. He thereupon set out to find the money, and gave his oath that he would either return or send back the necessary coin. He went to Kent to King Hlothaire, who was nephew of Queen Æthelthrytha, in whose service he had been and who found the money to redeem him, which he duly forwarded to his master.

He now returned home and reported to his brother what had happened, and especially what

had occurred in consequence of his prayers. The result was that many were strengthened in the faith and offered prayers and alms and victims as a sacred oblation (*Domino victimas sacrae oblationis*) for the release (*pro ereptione*) of their relations who had died. They realised that "the sacrifice" was potent in securing eternal life to body and soul. Bede claims to have heard the story from one of those who had profited by Imma's example.[1] This saga is useful as a measure of the growth of the theory of Purgatory since Pope Gregory's time.

To return to Hlothaire. He seems to have quarrelled with his nephew Eadric, who sought refuge in Sussex. There he collected a number of supporters and then proceeded to fight with his uncle, who was hurt in the struggle and presently died from his wounds.[2] This was on 6th February 685.[3] Eadric succeeded him in Kent and reigned for a year and a half.

A charter is extant, which is not marked with an asterisk by Kemble, and is therefore possibly genuine, in which Eadric conveys lands at Stodmersch or Stodmarsh, in Kent, to St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury for the price of ten silver pounds. It is recited in it, that they were close to lands which King Hlothaire had previously given to the abbey, and which were bounded on one side by the Stour and on the other by a ford (*vadum*) called Fordstreta.[4] This deed is dated in June 686.

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 22. [2] *Bede*, iv. 26. [3] *Ib.* and Plummer, ii. 264.
[4] Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, XXVII.; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, No. 67.

Bede says that for some time after Eadric's death kings reigned either with an illegitimate title, or foreigners (*reges dubii vel externi disperdiderunt*).[1]

Among these kings he doubtless includes Caedwalla and his brother, to whom we will now turn.

As I have said, Bede does not tell us the names of the Wessex princes who ruled during the period of anarchy of ten years which he mentions as following the death of Coinwalch. They were of no real interest for the story he proposed to tell, namely, that of the English Church, and he turns abruptly to its close with the name of a prince who was the hero of more than one romance. He says that the *subreguli* having been defeated and driven out, Caedwalla occupied the throne, which he held for two years (*devictis atque amotis subregulis, Caedualla suscepit imperium, et cum duobus annis tenuisset*).[2] He does not definitely say who Caedwalla was, but in a later chapter refers to him as a very vigorous youth of the royal stock of the Gewissi (*juvenis strenuissimus de regio genere Gewissorum*).[3]

The use of the name Gewissi here is remarkable. As Mr. Plummer says it does not occur in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, nor in any Saxon source, and Bede himself clearly uses the name in an archæological way, for he says elsewhere,[4] "*gens Occidentalium Saxonum qui antiquitus Gewissae vocabantur.*" It survives in Celtic sources, both Welsh

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 26. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 12. [3] *Ib.* ch. 15. [4] iii. 7.

and Irish, until several centuries later, and in the pseudo-Asser it is treated as a Celtic name. Thus, speaking of Gewis, whom he makes the eponym of the race, he says, "*Gewis a quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant.*"[1] This shows that Bede derived the notice either at first or second hand from a Welsh source.

What is more remarkable (in fact most remarkable) is that the name Caedwalla is an impossible Saxon name and is most certainly a Welsh one; so is that of his successor, and it makes it very difficult, or rather almost impossible, to accept the pedigree provided for him by the patriotic Annals of Wessex, and which, like others from the same source, is very doubtful. The difficulty is much increased by other details of the story as told by Bede and others. Thus he is called a pagan, and he certainly acted like one, and it is only after his visit to Rome when he had resigned his throne that he is said to have been baptized. If he was a Saxon prince, how could he at this time have been a pagan, for all the Saxon principalities were at this time converted? The same may be said of the British princes. But in regard to the latter we know that they were not treated as orthodox by the English Church, and that Caedwalla's namesake of a former generation, Cadwaladar, although nominally a Christian, was considered by the Northumbrians to all intents and purposes as a pagan and behaved as if he had been one, and it would not be wonderful if

[1] *M.H.B.*, 468; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 89.

on his visit to Rome a British Christian should have been asked to undergo a second baptism. It will be remembered that at this very time the Welsh traditions call two of their kings Caedwalla and his nephew Ini, and make their King Caedwalla go to Rome and die there, as Caedwalla the Saxon King is made to do. This has been treated entirely as a fable, the offspring of Welsh vanity.

A good deal of it may be fable, but it may have for its foundation the fact that Caedwalla of Wessex was deemed to be of Celtic or partly of Celtic blood. He may, in fact, have been of mixed blood, which would account for his brother being called Mul, *i.e.* "the Mule" or Half-breed. This might explain his Celtic name, and he may have used the period of anarchy existing in Wessex to make himself master of that kingdom once possessed by his people, and in fact to repeat the doings of Cadwaladar in earlier times in Northumbria. It is pretty certain if he did so that the West Saxon writers of a later day would try to disguise the fact, and to do so effectively by the concoction of a sophisticated pedigree.

It is a pity we know so little of Caedwalla from English sources. The first notice we have of him is in Æddi's biography, who introduces the incident quite abruptly, saying that while Wilfrid was at work (in Sussex) there came a certain exile or outlaw of noble birth from the wastes (*de desertis*) of Ciltine and Ondred[1] (*i.e.* probably

[1] *Æddi*, ch. 42.

Chillington and the forest of Andred),[1] who was named Caedwalla, and sought the friendship of Wilfrid, saying he was faithful to the doctrine and interests of the latter, and promised to act as his son. Wilfrid accordingly supplied him with some troops. It is very difficult to understand or to justify Wilfrid's attitude to Æthelwalch (*vide infra*), for the latter had been his faithful friend and patron, the restorer of his fortunes when they were desperate, and most generous in his gifts, and yet Æddi describes the bishop as being on the friendliest terms with his murderer. They agreed, he tells us, to treat each other as father and son in the most confidential way, and Wilfrid helped him not merely with counsel but also with gifts. It is not unlikely that here, as elsewhere, Æddi has done Wilfrid an ill service by trying to exaggerate his potency. It seems to me that the loud praises which have been poured upon Wilfrid by Dr. Bright and others are as much misplaced as is the exaltation of Jael by Christian moralists. Wilfrid was no doubt a strong and an interesting personage, but he was a very curious type of saint.

However this may be, Caedwalla seems to have initiated his campaign by a successful attack on Sussex, in which he killed its King, Æthelwalch, and cruelly wasted his kingdom.[2] He was presently, however, driven out by the two chiefs (*duces*) Bercthun and Andhun (called Ædelhun by

[1] Plummer says the forests of Chiltern and Andred (ii. 229).
[2] *Bede*, iv. 15.

Florence of Worcester), who had undertaken the government of the province,[1] but ultimately Caedwalla, having become the King of the Gewissi, he killed the former and again grievously punished the province.[2]

Meanwhile Caedwalla obtained possession of the kingdom of Wessex. If we are to believe Aldhelm's poem on Bugga's basilica, he obtained it by inheritance from Centwine. Perhaps he may have married his daughter. Bede says merely that "the petty kings having been defeated and deposed, Caedwalla mounted the throne."[3] The latter now turned to the conquest of the Isle of Wight, which had been made over to the King of Sussex by Wulfhere of Mercia as part of his christening gift. The present was a cheap one, for it had almost certainly never been occupied by Wulfhere, and probably not by Æthelwalch either.

Bede describes the island as situated opposite the division between the South Saxons and the Gewissi, being separated from the mainland by a sea three miles wide, which he says is called the Solvente (*i.e.* the Solent). He adds that "in this sea the two tides which flow around Britain from the immense ocean daily meet, and oppose each other beyond the mouth of the river Homelea (*i.e.* the Humble), which runs into that narrow sea from the land of the Jutes, which belongs to the Gewissi.

[1] Dr. Bright says Wilfrid had converted the two chiefs—a statement for which I know of no authority.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 15.

[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 12.

After meeting and struggling, the two tides return into the ocean from which they came."[1]

The population of the island, says Bede, was entirely pagan (*eatenus erat tota idolatriae dedita*), and Caedwalla determined to put them all to the sword and to repeople the island with natives of his own province (*suae provinciae homines*), meaning, doubtless, West Saxons. He further vowed that if he were successful he would make over one-fourth of the land and the spoils there to God (*Domino*). All this is most strange. Here we find a so-called pagan chief dooming the pagan inhabitants of the Isle of Wight to destruction, determining to repeople the island with West Saxons, who at this time were Christians, and vowing to endow the Christian God with a fourth of the island. How are we to understand these contradictions? He seems to have conquered the island very easily. We are not told that he ever carried out his truculent threat, however, to murder all the inhabitants, but he did proceed to endow the church there and its Bishop Wilfrid (who, as we have seen, is made to treat this ruthless pagan as David treated Jonathan) with a large estate. The island, according to the natives, comprised land for 12,000 families, of which 300 were made over to Wilfrid, who again made them over to one of his clerics called Bernwin, his sister's son, and assigned to him a priest named Hiddila as an assistant, and they proceeded to baptize all who wished to accept the faith. Although it would

[1] *Bede*, iv. 16.

seem that the threat of extermination was not carried out, the conquest of the island was nevertheless marked by a shocking tragedy. Two brothers of the local ruler, named Aruald, on the approach of the foe fled from the island and took shelter in the neighbouring Jutish district in Hampshire, and hid away in a place called *Ad Lapidem* (identified by Camden with Stoneham, on the Itchen), where they were betrayed to Caedwalla, who ordered them to be put to death. A neighbouring abbot and priest named Cyniberht, who had a monastery near Hreutford (i.e. *vadum harundinis*, or Reedford, now Redbridge, between Southampton and Lyndhurst Road),[1] thereupon repaired to the King, who was recruiting from wounds received in the recent fighting in the island, and begged of him that if it was necessary to put them to death he should first permit them to partake of the Sacraments. To this he assented, and the abbot having duly instructed and baptized them, and assured them of their approaching entry into heaven, it happened that when the executioner (*carnifex*) came they gladly accepted temporal death as a passage to life eternal. "After this, all the Britons (*sic*) in the island received the faith."[2]

The death-day of the two martyrs was celebrated on 21st August.

[1] Smith, in one of his notes to Bede, says that a certain William, Prior of "Redeford," was commemorated at Durham on the 11th kal. of April.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 16. This seems to imply that the great mass of the inhabitants were Britons and not belong to the Jutish race.

The whole story is horribly grim, and does not read better in the comments of later writers. Thus William of Malmesbury and Thomas of Elmham write: "*Etsi approbamus affectum, improbamus exemplum*" (Although we approve the result, we disapprove the means). They both, however, quote Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 24.

Bede goes on to say that the island, being under a harsh yoke of subjection, was neither assigned a priest nor a bishop for a long time; and that at length it came under the fostering care of Daniel, Bishop of the West Saxons.[1]

Let us now turn to Kent. We saw how Eadric, on the death of his uncle Hlothaire, occupied the throne. He, however, only held it for a year and a half, until the summer of 686.[2] Later writers like William of Malmesbury and Brompton speak of his rule as having been an unhappy one for his people. "Thereupon," says Bede, "the kingdom was for some time (*aliquod temporis spatium*) appropriated by illegitimate rulers or strangers (*dubii vel externi*). It was probably in his reign or in the period of disturbance that followed, that Caedwalla sent his brother Mul (compare the name Mol in Northumbrian history) against Kent.[3] It would seem from the local tradition that Mul was set up as King for a short time, but, according to Elmham, his name was not entered in the official list of the Kentish rulers: "*iste vero Mulo in catalogo regum Cantiae annotari*

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 16.
[2] *Bede*, iv. 26.
[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub an.* 686.

non debet."[1] In 687 we read in the *Chronicle* that Mul, with twelve of his supporters, were burnt.[2]

The paragraphs here devoted to Caedwalla, which sum up his work as a sovereign, are a measure of a very remarkable career. In less than two years this alleged leader of outlaws from the wild country of the Weald had succeeded in securing for himself the throne of Wessex and reconquering for it certain districts in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; had laid prostrate the adjoining small kingdom of Sussex and overwhelmed the more important kingdom of Kent. No one in England had shown greater prowess and none better deserved the proud title of Bretwalda—a position which was still existing in fact, if the name was in abeyance. We cannot doubt that the hegemony of southern England, at least, was in his hands, and yet what happened? While still in the full rush of his career, a young man of but thirty years old, who had hitherto shown small signs of mere sentiment, but had been a distinguished champion of blood and iron, lays down his weapons and puts aside his sword in order to adopt a religious life, and does it in a fashion surely unmatched in history. Let us in describing it adopt the words of our earliest historian, one of the masters of simple narration, Bede:—

"Caedwalla, King of the West Saxons, having very strenuously governed his people for two years, left his empire for our Lord and a perpetual kingdom, desiring to obtain the singular distinction of being

[1] Elmham, pp. 237, 252–53. [2] *Op. cit.*, *sub an.* 687.

baptized at the shrine of the Holy Apostles, through which ceremony alone, as he had learnt, there was access for the human race to heaven ; hoping further that directly he was baptized he might put aside his flesh and pass to the eternal joys of heaven ; both which things, by the aid of the Lord, came about as he wished. Having arrived in Rome at the time when Sergius was Pope, he was baptized on the holy Saturday of the paschal feast, in the year of the incarnation, 689."[1]

From other sources we get some glimpses of his journey to Rome. Thus we read that on landing on French soil he proceeded to a place called Sylviacus (now Samer, at a short distance from Boulogne) in order to take counsel with Saint Wulmar, a monk of great renown who was then abbot there. This is reported in the Life of the latter in the following words : "In the year of the incarnation, 688 (really 689), Caedwalla, King of the East Saxons (a mistake for West Saxons), who had already become a catechumen in Britain, came to him (St. Wulmar) to be better instructed in the Christian faith, and thus spoke to him : 'I have heard that thou art a holy man. I therefore ask two things from thee ; first, that thou wilt confirm my faith ; and secondly, that thou wilt pray to God the Lord for me, for my prayers are *much frozen.*' The godly man having duly prayed for him, Caedwalla presented him with thirty golden pieces of the larger money (*triginta solidos majoris*

[1] *Bede, op. cit.* v. 7.

monetae) as an endowment of the basilica which the abbot had lately built and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Peter."[1]

According to Paul the Deacon, when the King reached Lombardy he went to pay a visit to the Lombard King Cunibert at Pavia, and was received by him with cordial welcome (*mirifice susceptus est*).[2]

In St. Aldhelm's poem on the basilica of Bugga, previously cited, he speaks more generally of Caedwalla's journey. He describes his laying down the empire and sceptre of the world, and crossing the sea in a frail boat :—

Donec barca rudi pulsabat littora rostro ;

and then his crossing the snowy Alps :—

Exin nimbosas transcendit passibus Alpès ;

and of his warm welcome from the Papal Court :—

Cujus in adventu gaudet clementia Romae,
Et simul ecclesiae laetatur clerus in urbe.

It was indeed a notable event when the potent ruler from far-distant Britain made that wonderful journey to far-distant Rome for the purpose of finally closing his earthly career and joining the procession of those whom the Church claimed to direct to heaven.

There has been a discussion as to where he was baptized. Some writers have suggested that it was in the Lateran Baptistery, but, as Tesoroni says, one line in his epitaph,

Cujus fonte meras sumeret almus aquas,

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[1] See Surius, *Vit. Sanct.*, vii. 582 ; the Bollandists under 20th July ; and *King Caedwalla's Tomb*, by D. Tesoroni, 10 and 11.

[2] Paulus Diac., *De gest. Lomb.*, v. 15.

seems to imply that he was christened in the Vatican Basilica, in the beautiful decorated font (*fontes Sancti Petri*) which had been made by Pope Damasus and completed by Longinianus, a præfect of Rome, in the beginning of the fifth century. This view has also been adopted by notable writers like De Deis, Ciampini, etc.[1]

The ceremony took place, as the same epitaph tells us, on the 20th April 689, and the Pope was Caedwalla's godfather and gave him the name of Peter.

It was a tragical end to this famous ceremony that the English King should have, almost directly after, succumbed to the too fatal climate of Rome. As Bede says: "Being still in his white garments, he fell ill and died on the 20th of April."[2] He was buried in a most famous cemetery, where some of the most precious of the early pillars of the Church lay, and which I shall now describe, following the steps of my excellent guide Tesoroni.

He says: "Some modern writers place the tomb in the interior of the Vatican Basilica not far from the high altar; but, according to the allusions we find in the old MSS. giving the description of St. Peter's and its monuments, we may safely place it, not in the interior, but in the atrium.

"From the piazza (*platea* or *cortina S. Petri*) the visitor ascended a high flight of steps (*gradus S. Petri*), and, passing under arches surmounted by lofty towers, entered into the *quadri-*

[1] Tesoroni, *op. cit.* 11. [2] *Loc. cit.*

porticus, or quadrangular colonnade, which, together with the central space it surrounded, was called the atrium or paradisus S. Petri (St. Peter's paradise).

"This *quadri-porticus* was adorned with ancient marbles and mosaics, and in the middle of the central area a gigantic bronze pine-cone (now in the Vatican gardens) was to be seen, from the top of which sprang a copious jet of water, that fell over into a square basin of ancient marbles. This handsome basin (*cantharus*) stood under a roof of bronze, upheld by eight columns of porphyry, and upon the cornice of the columns were the peacocks of gilt bronze, which now likewise stand in the Vatican gardens.

"But what formed the best ornament and chief interest of the atrium was the long row of tombs of the early Popes and other illustrious personages, who had found their eternal rest in the shadow of the venerable Basilica.

"During the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries it was the custom to bury the Popes in the atrium of the Vatican Basilica; and even after that epoch we find that some of them were still buried in the porches, instead of in the interior of the church, as was customary at the time. To that use was reserved the portion of the atrium opening from the gates and fronting the Basilica, viz. the western side, which for this reason was known as the *porticus pontificum* ('porch of the Popes,' or 'Popes' Corner').

"Some of the Christian Roman emperors, like Honorius the First and others, who lived in the fifth century, had their sepulchres in two round mausoleums in the southern part of the Basilica, but the German Emperor Otho II. was buried at the very entrance of the Paradise before Saint Peter's Gates (*in introitu ante portas S. Petri*). This was in A.D. 983.

"In this atrium or paradise, and precisely in the Porch of the Popes, Caedwalla was buried, at the left-hand corner on entering the Basilica, near to or in the old Sacristy (*sacrarium vetus*), as marked in Alfarano's old plan of the Vatican Basilica.

"Just opposite to Caedwalla's stood the tomb of Gregory the Great, who was buried in the atrium, opposite to the Sacristy, between the columns of the porch—'*ante secretarium inter columnas porticalium*'; and the epitaph written in praise of that Pope recorded the conversion of Britain as his most glorious exploit:—

> "*Ad Christum Anglos convertit pietate magistra,*
> *Sic fidei acquirens agmina gente nova,*" etc.[1]

Not a fragment of Caedwalla's tomb remains.[2] On it was inscribed a very remarkable epitaph. A copy of the epitaph, with that of Pope Gregory, was apparently sent to Bede by his friend and

[1] Tesoroni, *op. cit.*

[2] In a work published by Johannes De Deis at Rome in 1588, he tells us that the tomb lay buried for a long time, and in later years it was discovered by the workmen engaged in building St. Peter's Basilica. It afterwards disappeared and was perhaps destroyed. At all events, not a stone of it now remains.

correspondent Nothelm, when he sent St. Gregory's letters. Bede's transcript contains some errors.

The following is Rossi's edition of it, obtained from the collation of several MSS. in which it is recorded:—

Culmen, opes, subolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Excubias, proceres, moenia, castra, lares.
Quaeque patrum virtus et quae congesserat ipse
Ceadual armipotens liquit amore Dei;
Ut Petrum sedemque. Petri rex cerneret hospes
Cujus fonte meras sumeret almus aquas
Splendificumque jubar radianti carperet haustu
Ex quo vivificus fulgor ubiq. fluit:
Percipiensq. alacer redivivae praemia vitae
Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum
Conversus convertit ovans; Petrumque vocari
Sergius antistes jussit ut ipse pater:
Fonte renascentem quem XRI gratia purgans
Protinus albatum vexit in arce poli:
Mira fides regis, clementia maxima XRI
Cujus consilium nullus adire potest.
Sospes enim veniens supremo ex orbe britannus
Per varias gentes per freta perque vias
Urbem romuleam vidit templumque verendum
Aspexit Petri mystica dona gerens;
Candidus inter oves XRI sociabilis ibit
Corpore nam tumulum mente superna tenet
Commutasse majis sceptrorum insignia credas
Quem regnum XRI promeruisse vides.

Hic depositus est Ceadual qui et Petrus rex Saxonum sub die xii. Kl. maiarum indict. ii. qui vixit annos pl(us) m(inus) xxx imperante Dn. Justiniano piisimo Aug. anno ejus consulatus iiii. pontificante apostolico viro domino Sergio PP. anno ii.

The following translation by Tesoroni embodies some corrections by my much-cherished friend,

Yorke Powell, who left us to grieve the loss of a rare personality, and some of my own :—

High state, wealth, kindred, powerful kingdoms, triumphs,
Spoils, nobles, walled cities, camps, family seat.
Whatever he conquered himself or obtained by the valour of his ancestors,
Caedual, war-powerful, abandoned for the love of God
In order to be a guest of Peter and of the chair of Peter,
From whose fountain he might happily draw pure waters.
And cull lustrous radiance
From where the quickening light flows everywhere.
And, gazing eagerly at the reward of a revived life,
His barbarian rage and also his name
He converted, adopting that of Peter
At the bidding of Pope Sergius his very father:
Renewed at the font by Christ's grace
He went to the heavenly city while still in white garments.
Wonderful was the faith of the King, but greater Christ's mercy,
Whose counsel no man can penetrate.
Arriving safely from the far-off land of Britain,
Traversing various countries and the ways of the sea,
He saw the city of Romulus and the awful temple
Of Peter, bearing with him mystic presents.
White(robed) he will go to join Christ's sheep.
With his body he occupies the tomb while the sky possesses his soul.
Have faith, then, that he has only changed his royal sceptre
For thou seest that he merited the Kingdom of Christ.

Ceadual, who is called Peter, King of the Saxons, who lived about thirty years, (was buried here) on the 12th day of the kalends of May in the fourth year of the Consulship of the Most Pious Emperor Justinian, being the second year of our apostolic lord, Pope Sergius.

These words only contain a dull echo of the music of the Latin lines, which are of such marked excellence that they are constantly to be found in collections of mediæval poems, and discussion has arisen as to their authorship. An author of the

twelfth century, whose work is preserved at Brussels and was examined by Rossi, attributes the lines to Sedulius, but Sedulius lived long after Caedwalla, and when the latter's name had doubtless been largely forgotten.

A more probable solution is given in a Vatican MS. edited by De Deis, already named, which unhesitatingly gives as the author of the epitaph the Archbishop of Milan, Benedictus Crispus, who was living in Rome in 689 or shortly after, as is mentioned by Paul the Deacon. He was an educated man and a poet, and some of his poems on remedies for different maladies were discovered and published by Cardinal Mai,[1] who also attributes the epitaph to him.

Tesoroni, from whose memoir these facts are gleaned, says of the inscription that it is one of the few Christian epitaphs belonging undoubtedly to the seventh century that have been preserved to us. De Rossi remarks that during the whole of the seventh century, apart from the funereal eulogiums of the Roman Pontiffs and that of Caedwalla, he has been able to collect only three or four epitaphs bearing any chronological indications, and these few record men or women of illustrious condition. It must also be remarked that in style and language Caedwalla's inscription shows it to be the work of a more elegant poet than those who dictated the eulogiums of the Popes and other important people.[2]

[1] *Class. Auct. Nov. Coll.*, vol. v.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.*, ii. p. xlv ; Tesoroni, p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGN OF KING ALDFRID OF NORTHUMBRIA—THE LATER DAYS OF ARCHBISHOP THEODORE AND AN APPRECIATION OF HIS CAREER—THE LATER DAYS OF ST. WILFRID

Meanwhile, as we have seen, Ecgfrid, the last of the great warrior kings of Northumbria, was killed by the Picts, and another king reigned in his stead. This opened a fresh door by which it was possible for Wilfrid to return to his old home and to recover his old power there. It will be well to recall some of the features of his recent stay in Sussex, which leave a very unhappy trace in the memory, and prove how, under the masterful and magnificent ecclesiastic in him, there was a stony heart and a calculating cynicism which are not easily matched. Dr. Bright, who so often palliates and excuses his mistakes of temper and taste, speaks on this occasion in a more judicial way, and I prefer to appeal to his words. Speaking of the very friendly terms which existed between Caedwalla and Wilfrid as reported by Æddi, who tells us they became to each other like father and son, Dr. Bright says of the Bishop: "He hoped to have softened and Christianised this strong, ardent nature,

but one would think he must have felt a shock when Caedwalla, beginning to contend for the realm of Wessex, not only gathered around him a band of broken men resembling in some sort the garrison of Adullam, but attacked and slew the bishop's own royal patron Æthelwalch (as an ally of Centwin?), and therefore an obstacle in his path. He then wasted Sussex 'with cruel ravages' until two ealdormen whom Wilfrid had converted" (for this statement there is only a probability) "combined to drive him out, . . . and one cannot but ask if the apostle of Sussex was passive in such a crisis or whether his influence was used in vain."[1] So, again, may we wonder at the close friendship of the two strangely contrasted men, one a fanatical ultramontane whenever it paid him to be one, and the other a ruthless pagan who had ravaged Christian Kent and mercilessly put to death the two Isle of Wight princes, after the added cruelty of giving permission for them to be baptized before they were executed. It was for no other crime than that of opposing his threatened desolation of their country. Those who have made a hero, nay almost a god, of Wilfrid may well face these questions if they are in the humour for measuring conspicuous figures in history by moral standards and for raising a protest against the high place one of them has secured in the army of conventional saints. We may well ask how a generally high-minded historian who had written the words above quoted could also, under the in-

[1] *Op. cit.* 391–92

fluence of the passionate fervour created by Newman for the aggressive champions of Mediævalism, bring himself to write such an unmeasured panegyric of Wilfrid as Dr. Bright gives on pages 269 and 270 of his fine work. Let us, however, see what was passing in Northumbria.

Ecgfrid, says Bede, had neither sons nor brothers (meaning legitimate brothers), and was succeeded by a natural son of Oswy, and therefore his half-brother, Aldfrid. In one place he speaks of him as a reputed son of Oswy (*qui ferebatur filius fuisse*),[1] later in the same chapter of the *Vit. Cuth.* and in the *Vita Metr.*, c. 21, Bede calls him definitely *frater nothus* of Ecgfrid, while Ælfric in his homily[2] calls him *cyfesboren*. He had lived for some time in exile (alleged to have been voluntary) in Ireland or Scotland (*in regionibus Scottorum*), devoting himself to study.[3] Cuthberht had foretold his accession twelve months before it really happened, and while he was still living in the Scotic isles (*in insulis Scottorum*).[4] The anonymous Life of that saint[5] distinctly understands Iona by this phrase (*in insula quam Hy nominant*). Among the Irish he was known as Fland Fiona—Fina, according to them, having been the name of his mother.[6] An Irish poem attributed to him is still extant.[7] Bede calls him a most learned man (*vir . . . doctissimus*),[8] and refers to him in another place as one universally

[1] *Vit. Cuth.*, ch. 24; see also *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 26.
[2] Ed. Thorpe, ii. 148. [3] *Ib.* [4] Bede, *Vita Cuth.*, ch. 24.
[5] *Vit. Anon. Cuth.*, 28. [6] Reeves, *Ad.*, p. 185; Plummer, ii. 263.
[7] *Vide infra*, p. 105. [8] Bede, *H.E.*, iv. 26.

most learned (*undecumque doctissimus*).[1] Æddi[2] qualifies him as *rex sapientissimus* (most wise king), and Alcuin writes of him:

> *Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis*
> *Aetatis primae, valido sermone sophista*
> *Acer et ingenio, idem rex simul atque magister.*[3]

Much later, William of Malmesbury says of him: *Omni philosophia composuerat animum.*[4]

Among the Irish he had a similar reputation. In the work generally quoted as the "three fragments" of *Irish Annals*, where he is called Fland Fiona, from Fina, the name of his Irish mother,[5] he is described as "the son of Ossa, King of Saxonland (*i.e.* Oswy), the famous wise man, the pupil of Adamnan" (*in t-ecnaid amra, dalta Adamnain*).[6] Elsewhere he is named *ardsui Erenn colusa* (Erin's chief sage of learning).[7]

One of his accomplishments must have been unique in a foreign king at that time, namely, that of writing poetry in the Irish tongue, a result of the many years he spent in Ireland.[8] One such piece of poetry survives in several MSS., and I have been fortunate enough to find an English version of it in a not very promising place.

The translation is by Mr. J. O. Donovan, a competent scholar, and he says he took it from an

[1] Bede, *H.E.*, v. 12.
[2] Chs. 44 and 49.
[3] *De Sanctis Ebor.*, vv. 843 ff.
[4] Plummer, ii. 263.
[5] Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 185.
[6] *Op. cit.* 110 and 111.
[7] See Reeves, *op. cit.* p. 186; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 263.
[8] See *Liber Lecan.*, 31–38; *ib. Vita*, 20; *L. Br.*, 12*b*–29; Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. xliv, 185–86, 376; Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii. 372.

original Irish copy in the handwriting of the late Edward O'Reilly, transcribed from a very old vellum MS. in the library of William Monik Maron, Esq. The original Irish text was published in Mr. Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. p. 372.

I found in the fair Inisfail,
In Ireland, while in exile,
Many women, no silly crowd,
Many laics, many clerics.

I found in each province
Of the five provinces of Ireland,
Both in Church and State,
Much of food—much of raiment.

I found gold and silver,
I found honey and wheat,
I found affection with the people of God,
I found banquets and cities.

I found in Armagh the splendid,
Meekness, wisdom, circumspection,
Fasting in obedience to the Son of God,
Noble, prosperous sages.

I found in each great church,
Whether internal, on shore or island,
Learning, wisdom, devotion to God,
Holy welcome, and protection.

I found the lay monks
Of alms the active advocates,
And in proper order of them
The Scriptures without corruption.

I found in Munster without prohibition
Kings, queens, and royal bards
In every species of poetry well skilled—
Happiness, comfort, pleasure.

I found in Conact (*i.e.* Connaught), famed for justice,
Affluence, milk in full abundance,
Hospitality, lasting vigour, fame,
In this territory of Croghan of heroes.

I found in the country of Conall (Tirconnell)
Brave victorious heroes,
Fierce men of fair complexion—
The high stars of Ireland.

I found in the province of Ulster
Long-blooming beauty, hereditary vigour,
Young scions of energy,
Though fair, yet fit for war, and brave.

I found in the territory of Boyle,
. . . . .[1]
Brehons, erenachs, palaces,
Good military weapons, active horsemen.

I found in the fair-surfaced Leinster,
From Ath cliath (Dublin) to Sleivmargy,
Long-living men, health, prosperity,
Bravery, hardihood, and traffic.

I found from Ara to Gle,
In the rich country of Ossory,
Sweet fruit, strict jurisdiction,
Men of truth, chess-playing.

I found in great fortress of Meath
Valour, hospitality, and truth,
Bravery, purity, and mirth—
The protection of all Ireland.[2]

I found the aged of strict morals,
The historians recording truth;
Each good, each benefit that I have sung,
In Ireland I have seen.

[1] MS. effaced.

[2] Alluding to Tara.

Mr. Plummer suggests as possible that Aldfrid may not have been a voluntary exile in Ireland, and seems to find evidence of this in the fact that Ecgfrid wished him to become a bishop, perhaps with the intention of excluding him from the succession to the crown, but that he declined on account of his unworthiness.[1] In this view I cannot agree. Ecgfrid had no legitimate heirs in whose light his brother could stand, and, as we shall see, his extraordinary gifts as a scholar eminently pointed him out for the great position of a bishop, while he was hardly fitted to cope with the disastrous position in which Northumbria lay after the defeat of Ecgfrid by the Picts. Soon after his accession, we are told that he made over eight hides of land to Benedict Biscop for his monastery at Jarrow in exchange for a fine manuscript of "the Cosmographers" which Benedict had bought in Rome. Bede, speaking of the manuscript, uses the words *mirandi operis.*[2] The land thus sold was, we are told, near the river "Fresca" (?). Benedict had settled the terms of the purchase but died before it was completed, and it was his successor Ceolfrid who placed the manuscript in the hands of the King.

There is an ancient ritual in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham which has been thought to have belonged to him, but it is not older than the ninth century.[3] St. Aldhelm dedicated a work to him which is thus entitled: *Epistola ad*

[1] *Vita. ab. Cuth.* and Bede's *Vit. Cuth.*
[2] Bede, *Hist. Abbat.* 15.
[3] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 264.

Acircium, sive liber de Septenario, et de Metris, aenigmatibus ac pedum regulis,[1] and he apostrophises him grandiloquently as *Domino praestantissimo et prae caeteris dignitatum gradibus glorificando . . . illustri Acircio, Aquilonalis imperii sceptra gubernanti, illustris regalis regni regimina dispensanti.* Aldhelm also speaks of him as his spiritual pupil (*spiritualis clientelae*), and as his most revered son (*reverentissime fili*), whose wisdom he had known for twenty years (*quod provida sagacitatis vestrae praecordia reminiscantur nos ante bis bina lustrorum*). He concludes this dissertation on the various modes of versification, etc., with some counsels to his pupil on higher matters, from which I will take one sentence: "*Quamvis ergo mundanae dispensationis curis, velut scopulis refluis algarum illisionibus et undarum circumlatrantium vorticibus, fatigatus populorum frena commissorum moderando gubernes, nequaquam tamen hujus rei gratia praepeditus melliflua divinarum studia scripturarum negligenda, et sub hujusmodi occasionis practextu parvi pendenda ducas.*"[2]

Aldfrid also continued on very friendly terms with Adamnan, with whom he had lived at Iona. In his *Life of St. Columba*, the latter mentions how he had paid a visit to "Saxonia" to see King Aldfrid, whom he styles his friend. This was in 686, and he says that the plague was still raging and many

[1] Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. Giles, 216. William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 385, calls the book *Liber de Schematibus.*

[2] Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. Giles, 328.

villages had been devastated by it. This was after the war with Ecgfrid[1]—that is, probably after the invasion of Ireland by the latter's general, Berctun. The object of Adamnan's visit is stated in the *Irish Annals*, from which we learn that it was to redeem sixty Irish captives who had been carried off in that struggle. In the "three fragments" of *Irish Annals* edited by O. Donovan we read: "In this year (wrongly given as 687) Adamnan ransomed the captives whom the Saxons had carried away from Erin."[2] The *Ulster Annals*, which are usually right, put this in 686.[3] Tighernach, who dates the visit in 687, says that Adamnan restored (*reduxit*) the captives to Ireland.

In the Irish life of Adamnan we are further told some interesting details about this journey of the Saint to England. We there read that "the men of Erin besought of Adamnan to go in quest of the captives to Saxonland. Adamnan went to demand the prisoners and put in at *Tract Romea*. There the strand is long and the flood rapid; so that if the best steed in Saxonland ridden by the best horseman were to start from the edge of the tide when it began to flow he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming." Skene identifies this landing-place of Adamnan with much probability with the Solway Firth, and urges that he went in his *curach* or coracle and landed on its south shore.[4] In his *Life of St. Columba*, Adamnan mentions visiting Aldfrid a

[1] *Vit. St. Col.*, ii. 46.
[2] *Op. cit.* 89.
[3] Rolls ed. i. 137.
[4] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 171.

second time two years later.[1] This visit was a notable one, because it was then that the Abbot of Iona was converted to the orthodox date of commemorating Easter by Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth. Adamnan, as we shall see further on, presently converted the Irish Celtic Church to the same view. Another interesting fact in regard to this second visit is recorded by Bede.

He says that a certain Gallic bishop called Arcuulfus had visited Palestine, including Jerusalem, and had also been to Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many isles of the sea, and when returning home was cast on the coast of Western Britain by a tempest, and presently came to Iona, where he was welcomed by Adamnan, to whom he dictated an account of the holy places, which was very useful since the greater part of the lands in which the Patriarchs and Apostles had lived were unknown in the West. Adamnan presented this book to King Aldfrid. An epitome of it was written at the expense of the King and distributed to men of lower degree. Bede devotes the sixteenth chapter of his fifth book to an abstract of this work.[2] On his return home Adamnan was given many presents by the King.[3]

Aldfrid was also a disciple of Drythelm, and several times attended the recital of his famous visions, which will occupy us presently.

A more notable part of his career associates him with St. Wilfrid, whom we left in Sussex, and

[1] *Op. cit.* bk. ii. ch. 46. [2] *Bede*, v. 15. [3] *Loc. cit.*

to whom we must now revert. We will first tell this part of his story as Æddi, his unqualified panegyrist, reports it.

He says that at this time Theodore, being an old man and burdened with infirmities, desired to be reconciled to his old opponent. He therefore invited his two bishops Wilfrid and Earconwald to come to London. Æddi professes to give the terms of the archbishop's address to the former, in which he is made to offer a humble apology for his previous treatment of him. This is evidently highly coloured. In it he promises to write to his friends (*i.e.* the two kings) to secure his restitution, and further reports that he invited Wilfrid to succeed him at Canterbury, a post, by the way, which was not in his gift. Wilfrid is made to reply in a friendly and deferential manner, which is more likely to be true, and then to go on to ask Theodore to obtain for him the restitution of what he had lost. Thereupon Theodore wrote to King Aldfrid, and, according to Æddi, asked him for the fear of God, in obedience to the orders of the Holy See, and for the redemption of the soul of his brother Ecgfrid, who had deprived Wilfrid of his see, to be reconciled to the latter. He wrote similar letters to Aldfrid's half-sister, the Abbess Ælfleda, and to the Mercian King, Æthelred. The letter written to Æthelred is given at length by Æddi, but if written in Latin as thus reported it must have been a difficult document for the rough king and his homely priests to understand. As a result, we

are told that Æthelred changed his attitude towards Wilfrid, and in after years was very good to him and gave him many possessions, including monasteries.[1] Aldfrid, who was then in the second year of his reign, *i.e.* in 686 (apparently in response to Theodore's appeal), recalled Wilfrid from his exile. Æddi tells us that he first restored him the monastery of Hexham with its possessions, and later, in accordance with the decrees of Pope Agatho and his Synod, appointed him again to the See of York and the Monastery of Ripon, and deprived the bishops who had been intruded into his Province. He held his new position happily for five years.[2] This is Æddi's story.

Of all these events from the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid onwards inclusive, not a word occurs in Bede, which is passing strange. He sums the whole in a single short sentence. "In the second year of Aldfrid, who reigned after Ecgfrid, he (Wilfrid) was restored to his see and bishopric by that King's invitation."[3] We may accept this phrase as the plain prose underlying Æddi's rhetoric. He says nothing, in fact, about his having been restored to York or Ripon at this time, but in one place he says that he was restored to his bishopric *at Hexham*,[4] which, as we shall see, is the true account.

The reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid was almost the last act of the great archbishop's strenuous life. How strenuous it had been we may

[1] *Æddi*, 43.
[2] *Id.* 44.
[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 19.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 3.

best gather from Bede's condensed account of his ministerial work. He says of it :—

"Some time after his arrival he visited all the island wherever the tribes of the Anglians lived, and was welcomed everywhere since he was accompanied and assisted by Hadrian. He was the first archbishop who was obeyed by all England. In his perambulation, he and his companions spread about the right rule of life and the canonical custom of dating Easter. They were learned both in sacred and secular knowledge and attracted good audiences, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers. Besides the Bible they also taught the people the arts of poetry, mathematics, and of calculating the ecclesiastical feast and fast days." This Bede calls ecclesiastical arithmetic. "There are still living," he adds, "some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in that in which they were born." Bede's gay and fanciful pen paints the scene in roseate colours : "Nor was there ever a happier time since the Angles came into Britain, for the good and brave kings were a terror to their barbarous neighbours, and men's minds were largely occupied with the heavenly kingdom of which they had just heard, and all who wished to learn sacred things had masters to teach them."[1]

Among other acts of his episcopate not already mentioned we may report his hallowing in 678 of

[1] *Bede*, iv. 2.

the wooden church at Lindisfarne, which had been built by St. Finan to replace the more modest building erected there by St. Aidan,[1] and the ordination of St. Cuthberht at York in 685, when six other bishops were present.[2] In a work professing to be the *Gesta* of St. Sexburga, cited in the *Liber Eliensis*, we are told she received the veil from Archbishop Theodore in Sheppey Church. A much more doubtful statement is made by Thomas of Elmham, when he reports that Theodore founded a school at Grekislake. The somewhat tropical Latin in which this is described by Elmham is worth a note, and is at least a measure of the reputation Theodore still bore at Canterbury, which may be further gathered from Elmham's vigorous defence of him against the carping criticisms of the champions of Wilfrid, like Marianus Scotus and William of Malmesbury.[3]

[1] *Bede*, iii. 25. [2] *Ib.* iv. 28.

[3] He says, speaking of Theodore's manifold virtues: "*Horum utique rationis evidentia memoriae reducitur modernorum per illam villulam, quae 'lacus Graecorum,' Anglice Grekislake, a Theodori disciplina, ubi schola primitus tenuit, nuncupatur. In illo enim lacu, refulsit quasi sol Theodorus, a sole justitiae illustratus, in clypeos aureos, ecclesiae videlicet Catholicae discipulos et doctores; a quibus montes, reges scilicet et magnates, luce fidei illuminati resplenduerunt, per quos rationis oculo manifestatur distincta pars exercitus regis nostri multiplicibus virtutum radiis illustrata, expulsis perfidiae tenebris, qua hostis ille, primus rationis apostata, pressus pondere voluntatis, assurgens reprimitur cum triumpho. Laudetur igitur a fidelibus Theodori ratio, nec multiplicent loqui sublimia gloriantes, sed recedant vetera de ore illorum, quia Deus scientiarum Dominus est, et ipsi praeparantur cogitationes*" (*op. cit.* 277). What the origin of this legend can be it is difficult to say. It is possibly based on a false etymology. Brompton, who says nothing of Theodore, tells us that according to some there were two places in England specially devoted to the study of Greek and Latin respect-

Meanwhile it is well to remember the names of some of those who at this time profited by Theodore's teaching: among others were Albinus, styled Theodore's disciple by Bede;[1] John of Hexham, and Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester;[2] Tobias, Bishop of Rochester;[3] and, most famous of all, St. Aldhelm.

The only works extant which we can directly assign to Theodore are:—

I. Some lines addressed to the West Saxon Bishop Haedde, which are as follows:—

Te nunc sancte speculator,
Verbi Die digne dator
Haeddi pie presul precor,
Pontificum ditum decor
Pro me tuo peregrino,
Preces funde Theodoro.[4]

II. A disputed but doubtful letter reported by Æddi, said to have been addressed to Æthelred of Mercia, asking him to extend his favour and patronage to Wilfrid, and already referred to.

III. A much more important document, namely, the so-called *Penitential* (or list of punishments for various offences), which passes by his name. I have given an account of the history of the text in the Introduction and a translation of it in the Appendix. Here I can only offer a summary of its contents.

Theodore's principal fame, apart from that of an

ively. The former, he says, was called Greglade, "now called Kirklade," and there Greek was for some time taught (*op. cit*, *X Scriptores*, col. 814).

[1] *Bede*, v. 20. [2] *Ib.* iv. 23. [3] *Ib.* v. 23.

[4] C.C.C., MS. 320; Haddan and Stubbs, 203; Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 388.

administrator, rests on his knowledge of Canon Law and his ecclesiastical learning. Archbishop Ecgberht of York some years later mentions him in the preface to his own *Penitential* among other masters of ecclesiastical discipline. So does Pope Zacharias, writing in 748.[1] His decisions were incorporated under his name into the collection of Irish Canons belonging to the same century.[2] The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions him as the author of a Penitential, so do Paul the Deacon,[3] Rabanus Maurus, and others.[4]

The importance and value of this document, which has been too much neglected, cannot be overrated. It is the first ecclesiastical Code ever issued by a dignitary of the English Church, and it contains a great deal of first-hand information about the administration of the Church and its discipline, with much about the morals and manners of the English race at the end of the seventh century. So unique and important is it that I have deemed it essential to translate it for the first time, and to print it in smaller type in an Appendix so that my readers may study it at leisure. Certain clauses in regard to the relations of the sexes and the sins of the flesh I have had to exclude, because they deal with matters which it is not possible to print in English, and which prove very clearly how degraded morals must have been, and how plain

[1] See *Mon. Mogunt*, 185.
[2] Wasserschleben, *Irische Canonen Versammlung*, 247–48.
[3] *Hist. Langobard*, v. ch. 30. [4] *Ib.*

spoken the censors of such morals then deemed it necessary to be. The work consists of a collection of decisions on a large number of minute points of ceremonial and moral and administrative matters, arranged in orderly fashion and supported by continued references to the Canons of different Synods, the decisions of the Seniors, as Theodore calls the Fathers, and notably of his great master and teacher, St. Basil. He also appeals to a similar document, which he calls a *libellus* or small book containing the decisions and views of the early Irish monks. A large part of its clauses deal with ceremonial matters and to meticulous distinctions between offences comes directly from the Book of Leviticus. I will give one or two comments from men of gravity in regard to this part of the invaluable document.

Bishop Stubbs, in dealing with the subject, offers some apologies which do not greatly qualify the enormity of the picture disclosed. He says of the *Penitential* that it contains, like all works of a disciplinary character, much that is repulsive and redolent of the heathen and other abominations against which early Christianity had to contend. Painful and disgusting as it is, it shows the Church attempting to struggle against the moral and social evils which the Roman satirists and epigrammatists regarded either as matters of fact or as matters of course, and it certainly was not meant for common reading.[1]

Mr. Haddan speaks of it as presenting "the

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 932.

strange literalness with which, not in this work only but in other ways, divines of that age used the Old Testament. The *Penitential* of Theodore not only begins in *the MS.* with the Ten Commandments after the Augustinian reckoning (the second being merged in the first), but the prohibitions about usury, and much of those about clean and unclean animals, strange to say, are simply borrowed by it. The exceeding minuteness with which degrees of sin are distinguished—the enormous severity of the penalties—the speedy introduction of commutations of penance, some of them of the most comically whimsical kind (according to Archbishop Ecgberht, commutations of some kind were permitted by Theodore himself), the inevitable externalisation of morals resulting from such a minute quantitative measure of outward acts; the temptation arising from the mere bulk and duration and extent of the penances to exalt these into ends and not instruments; into meritorious compensation instead of a discipline to lead the soul more nearly to the Saviour and Judge himself; all this apart, from any particular question of doctrine, may be truly alleged against the system itself."[1]

This is all true, but it is not all the truth. Behind all this minute dissection of human penalties and this apportioning of what was deemed a fitting difference in punishment for minute distinctions in the offences we meet continually with, decisions

[1] Haddan, *Remains*, 324–25.

that mark the grave, sound judge of true morals, the pupil of Basil and probably also of Gregory, who could see things in their true perspective, and tempered the hard lines of positive law by the ethical and equitable justice which came of his training among the philosophers of Greece. One very notable thing about the document is the way in which the customs and practices of the East are continually brought into juxtaposition with those of the West, and how, notwithstanding his continual professions that he was most anxious not to make any breach with the canonical decisions of the great Roman divines, Theodore on several occasions expresses opinions which must have been a trial to the more exacting champions of the Western branch of Christ's Church.

It is possible that in matters of secondary moment Theodore's teaching may have caused considerable changes in the ritual and local use in Britain in sympathy with his Eastern views and training. This would have been more easy in his time than later, when the demand for uniformity of practice became so dominant a factor in the policy of Rome.

There are other matters which are notable in the *Penitential*; thus the proof it affords of the continuance of pagan modes and forms of incantation, magic, etc.[1]

On some questions he decidedly differed from the Western custom, as in the matter of rebaptism, in

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. xv. bk. i.

which he held the more austere views of the Greeks, who insisted on rebaptism when there was a doubt whether the baptizing person had due credentials, while among the Romans it was held to be indifferent, since it was the Spirit of God that worked, and the baptism was a mere conduit pipe. On this subject Boniface the great English missionary was a very strenuous advocate of the Roman view.[1]

Again, as among the Greeks, Theodore held that a priest might make the exorcising oil and the chrism, while in the West this was strictly a bishop's duty.[2] A third notable matter in which Theodore agreed with the Greeks as against the Romans was in the degree of consanguinity within which he permitted marriages to take place. The rule was much stricter at Rome than the one he sanctioned in his *Penitential*. Other differences are recorded in the same work, book ii., chapter viii.

Mr. Haddan adds a number of other notable matters discussed in the same document as being of present interest, thus : (1) Permission in case of need to have only one sponsor of either sex. This he calls an orientalism of Theodore. (2) A prohibition, on pain of excommunication, of the presence at Mass without communicating. (3) An intimation, not a command, in favour of weekly Communion. (4) A prohibition of lay baptism in general, but a provision enforcing it in case there were none but a layman present, and the person to be baptized be at the point of death. (5) A prohibition, not only

[1] *Mon. Mog.*, pp. 167, 168. [2] See *Pen*, II. iii. 8.

of field labour (sheep-shearing, by the way, was *woman's* work among the Saxons), of shaving or bathing on the Lord's Day, with an exception in favour of washing the head and feet. (6) He held that intentional desertion of a man by his wife left the husband free, with the bishop's consent, to marry again; a similar permission was extended, without mentioning the bishop, to both husband and wife, if either were carried into captivity, and nothing were heard of the captive for five years, and after seven years if it were impossible to redeem him or her. (7) He imposed three years' penance upon a presbyter, two upon a deacon, and one upon a sub-deacon, who should be guilty of the iniquity of hunting.[1] "The *Penitential* shows," Haddan says, "that Theodore regarded the customs of the Greeks and Romans as of like authority, and as precedents to be followed or not, according to their intrinsic value, and set aside the latter (when it suited him) without scruple."

Theodore died on the 19th of September 690, the year after King Caedwalla, and at the age of eighty-eight, when he had been bishop twenty-two years. He had, according to Bede, been told in a dream that he would live to that age. He was buried in the Church of the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, the chapel, however, in which St. Augustine and his successors were laid was now full, and he was interred in the body of the church.[2] His epitaph consisted of

[1] Haddan, *Remains*, 327, note.

[2] See *Bede*, ii. 3.

thirty-four lines, of which the first and last quatrain are alone preserved by Bede, as follows :—

"Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore praesul
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Palasga vocat.
Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

. . . . . .

Namque diem nonamdecimam September habebat,
Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur.
Alma novae scandens felix contortia vitae,
Civibus angelicis junctus in arce poli."

His body was translated with those of the other archbishops at the rebuilding of the Cathedral in 1091, and it would appear that the original tomb was then lost, for Thomas of Elmham, who knew the church so well, does not give us the epitaph at length, and only reports Bede's mutilated version of it with a considerable space between the verses, as if he expected sometime to recover the missing lines.

Theodore was the last of the seven archbishops commemorated in the following lines quoted by Elmham from a book he refers to as *De Corporis Sanctorum* :—

"*Septem primates sunt Angli et protopatres,*
Septem rectores septemque per aethra triones,
Septem sunt stellae, nitet his haec area cellae,
Septem cisternae vitae septemque lucernae." [1]

It will be noted that he was also the last of the foreign ecclesiastics who presided over the English Church during Anglo-Saxon times, which gives

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 283.

point to this glorification of the first seven among them. In the exordium to his address to the Council of Heathfield, Theodore styles himself *gratia Dei archiepiscopus Brittaniae insulae, et civitatis Doruvernis.*[1]

Among the notable men who began their public life after they had passed seventy assuredly Theodore takes a very high rank for the great deeds he was able to perform. This Eastern monk, well equipped with such learning as was to be had at the time, had led a scholar's life in the East where the ecclesiastical training was not the best preparation for a man of affairs, and yet he proved himself singularly gifted in managing men and in organising and administering a very difficult institution, namely, a Missionary Church, which was moribund, and which he replanted so firmly that it never again was reduced to the same hapless condition. It showed a singular insight and foresight in the Pope who selected him that he should have ventured on what must have seemed the desperate risk of entrusting the fortunes of the English Church at this time to so old and so untried a man and one born and educated among very different surroundings to those which then existed in the churches of Western Europe. It is tempting to compare his missionary life with that of Augustine. In doing this some notable facts have to be remembered.

If we are to measure men's successes by the difficulties they have to overcome rather than the

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 142.

harvests they have been able to secure, it would seem at first sight that Theodore had an easier task than Augustine. The latter had to face an entirely pagan people, for we cannot count the little congregation at St. Martin's with Liudhard at its head as of real importance. When Theodore arrived, the English race, except in Sussex, was in name at least entirely Christian. Although it was divided by an uncomfortable feud on certain matters of discipline there were no material divisions in matters of faith. The rôle of the new missionary bishop was rather that of healing the sores in a Christian body than an attempt to persuade a rough heathen race divided into contending tribes and factions, with "blood and iron" as watchwords of its polity, or to induce it to throw over its old gods (who delighted in war and slaughter), for another God who was commended to their allegiance as a God of mercy and justice. This is true. It is no less true that when we apportion the credit for the changed conditions to their real authors we shall remember that it was in the main not due to Augustine, whose field of lasting labour was largely limited to the narrow bounds of Kent and Essex. The graft which had been planted in Northumbria by Paulinus had withered and perished, and Kent and Essex were then the only cultured parts of England.

The men who really ploughed and harrowed the soil which was lying fallow, among the masculine and vigorous peoples of northern and central

England; of Northumbria, and Mercia were not Augustine's monks, but, as we have seen, the never-tired, resourceful, and sympathetic spiritual children of St. Columba, St. Aidan, and their disciples.

Again, although Theodore, when he landed, had to deal not with a nation of pagans, as Augustine had, but with a nation converted to Christianity, it must be remembered that the political differences between the various States which were always at war, continued as fiercely as ever, and that Christianity did not entirely mean religious fervour. The Christianity which existed in England when Theodore landed was far from being homogeneous. The differences which existed between those who followed the ways of Rome and were tied to Rome ecclesiastically, and those who were independent of Rome and looked to Ireland as their Christian mother, were acute and bitter as theological differences are prone to become, the measure of the bitterness being out of all proportion to the amount of the distinctions. This may be tested by the fact that the greatest of all recognised sins, so far as the Church went, was not technically a moral fault at all but the very arbitrary official sin of schism. It must be remembered, however, that although schism may not be a moral offence of a high order, it does involve the most fatal inconveniences when it occurs in the prosecuting of missionary work among the heathen. This may be shown by a glance at what has happened in our own day in China and Africa and other fields of labour, where the various

sects of Christians under different banners and with different shibboleths have struggled for the allegiance of an embarrassed pagandom.

Again, we must remember that Theodore's arrival was almost coincident with a fresh outburst of the plague in Britain, which, as we saw in the previous volume, utterly destroyed and swept away the great mass of the evangelising clergy in the island who were the outcome of both Augustine's and St. Aidan's missions, and that it was necessary to begin again and to train a new body of clergy to take the place of the victims.

We can hardly doubt that discipline must meanwhile have gone sadly to pieces in the Roman Missionary Church in England, and that the ill-educated and homely clergy who alone remained and who had been trained by the original monks who came with Augustine (themselves only very partially endowed with culture) had shrunk into a very small sphere. We know what happens and has continually happened in such cases among missionaries who have worked among pagan peoples. They inevitably invite new recruits for their mission by the mingling of their more abstract and ideal faith with the pagan dross which has sunk deeply into the lower classes of the community and which eventually outlives all other elements in it. Thus it came about that in Britain the gospel message was soon mixed, and presently completely steeped, in its pagan accretions. Magic of various kinds readily passed from the old religion to the

new, and it did not cease to be magic because it took another name. Egeria and her nymphs did not cease to inhabit the holy wells whence St. Anne, or the Virgin, or St. Augustine, or St. Anthony dispensed their cure-all for disease and decrepitude by an application of the sanctified water. The conversion of the heathen meant little more change to the poor and simple than a change of the names of their deities, and the substitution of a more plausible form of magic for a cruder one. We have only to read the records of the Church in Gaul during the sixth and seventh centuries to learn the extent to which the mixture of paganism with Christianity had gone in a neighbouring land.

Lastly, we must remember the difficulties which Theodore had to face in his own fold. There he was being continually thwarted by that imperious personage Wilfrid, who, while prepared to fight the cause of Rome at all hazards, was not willing to subordinate his own pretensions to those of his titular chief.

All this shows how many and difficult were the harassing questions which Theodore had to face on his arrival, and he faced them with marked wisdom.

He firmly and tactfully put an end to the double episcopate of St. Wilfrid and St. Chad in the north, and to the really important differences that separated the disciples of Aidan's mission, and those who obeyed Rome in Northumberland. This outward unity was emphasised by the Synod

he held at Herutford, the first general assembly of the English Church; at which he persuaded the English bishops solemnly to endorse a number of the most important of the canonical decisions of the Church Catholic.

The unity thus created in the Church was very influential in other directions. It was the first pronouncement that (however divided into rival political factors) the English nation now possessed an institution which within the limits of morals could legislate for the whole body, and could be brought together to discuss and decide national interests as a whole, and to speak in its name. One of the earliest first-fruits of this action was the peace which Theodore concluded between Ecgfrid of Northumbria and Æthelred of Mercia.

It was not long before, as in Gaul and Spain, the National Assemblies (here known as Witans) succeeded in combining the functions of ecclesiastical and secular legislative Parliaments. At them the rulers of the different English States were brought face to face with each other, and thus a kind of national Parliament was instituted.

Another great reform which Theodore initiated and carried out was the division of the huge and unworkable dioceses of England into smaller ones. This was not only a great advantage in administering the Church, but prevented the growth of local "popes" in cases where each kingdom had only one bishop, and where he happened to be a very ambitious person like Wilfrid.

A third great reform initiated by the archbishop in conjunction with his friend Hadrian, who like himself was a notable scholar, and who was the Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, was that of the education of the clergy. He gave great impetus to the school there as an educational establishment. I shall have more to say about it presently.

I propose to conclude this account of Theodore and his work by an appreciation of him by a very competent judge.

Bishop Stubbs thus sums up the results of Theodore's work :—"He was the first of the archbishops whom all the nations acknowledged, and in their recognition of him was contained the germ of the unity which was not realised in secular matters for nearly three centuries to come. He therefore takes an important place in the creation or the development of the idea of English nationality. In the history of the Church his position is even more significant, for he succeeded in organising a united ecclesiastical body out of the provincial churches of the several kingdoms which, converted by distinct agencies,—Roman, Frank, Burgundian, Italian, and Celtic,—became one under his hand; and he succeeded in dividing the whole of Southern Britain into well-defined dioceses, establishing the rule of Canterbury over all the suffragan sees. This he did on lines which were not those which Gregory and Augustine had drawn, but which, notwithstanding the emancipation of the archiepiscopate of York, itself the result of centuries of

struggles, have continued to be the main outlines of the territorial system of the Church to this day.

"To the Church thus arranged in dioceses, under his primary and metropolitical authority, he secured all the advantages of position and organisation which had been reached by the most favoured churches of the West. The power of synodical action was claimed, and provision made for its coercion in the Council of Hertford" (really Herutford); "the episcopal jurisdiction over persons and things touching sacred or moral questions was claimed by his dictum in the *Penitential* and Canons,[1] and recognised in the legislation of the kings and witenagemots of the following ages. We know, for instance, from his *Penitential*, that the right of enforcing justice on the murderers of monks or clergy was in the hands of the bishop,[2] that he had full authority over immoral clergy,[3] and that he could determine the causes of the poor up to the value of fifty shillings (*solidi*).[4]

"His jurisdiction was indeed in a mixed and nascent state, depending partly on consensual obedience and partly on the assistance of the royal authority, but recognised and fairly well defined. The same may be said of the custom of tithe as it appears in the *Penitential*, already a definite payment, compulsory only so far as the informed conscience of the payer was subject to the direction

[1] *Vide infra*, vol. iii., Appendix II.
[2] I. iv. 5.
[3] I. ix. 1.
[4] II. ii. 4.

of the Church. It was not yet apportioned exclusively to the maintenance of the clergy, but a payment incumbent on all but the priests,[1] and not to be diverted from the poor or pilgrims or the churches to which it was the duty of the laity to devote it,[2] according to the custom of the province. Over marriage and the laws for the restriction and the annulling or enforcing of marriage rights, the bishops had full power, so far as it can be exercised by ecclesiastical discipline. Over churches, their ministers, officers, and furniture, the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was equally ascertained. The submission of the wild kings and untutored tribes to the fully developed law of the religion to which they adhered was strikingly complete, and it could have been by no weak or impolitic hand that the new rule was so wisely tempered. In some points, indeed, the archbishop's moderation allowed the continuance of national customs which he would rather have forbidden, as, for example, in relation to public penance,[3] the government of monasteries of men by women and *vice versa*,[4] and the eating of horse-flesh.[5] In consequence of the greatness of the need he allowed the ordination of persons recovered from heresy, contrary to the decision of the Roman See, which had declared them perpetually disqualified.[6]

"That Theodore arranged the parochial system of the ancient Church is an idea which is anach-

[1] *Pen*, II. ii. 8. [2] II. xiv. 9 and 10. [3] I. xiii. 4.
[4] II. vi. 8. [5] II. xi. 4. [6] I. v. 2; cf. I. ix. 12.

ronistic, to say the least, however firmly he may have laid the foundation of it. The basis of parish organisation already existed in the organisation of the township, but the ecclesiastical element was as yet in solution; the clergy were scarcely parish priests, rather missionaries or monastic evangelists on the one hand, and chaplains of great men on the other; nor were their tithes formally appropriated to the church of the township, however strong the claim which religious obligation involved. It was not for a century after Theodore's time that the duty of tithe-paying was enforced by secular law, and it was still longer before the strict apportionment became universal. The monastic element in the Church had not yet reached the stage at which it may be said to have crystallised. The missionary work was still carried on to a great extent by monks and monastic agency, and the greater churches were attached to monasteries. Although some of the alleged papal 'privileges' are spurious, it is clear from the recognition of privilege, which appears both in the Canons of Herutford and in the *Penitential*, that the monastic establishments were withdrawing from the immediate superintendence of the bishops, and gaining an independence which involved the necessity of finding other agencies for proper pastoral work.[1]

"Theodore, in addition to being a good Greek and Latin scholar, also had some knowledge of what then passed for medicine. Bede reports how

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 926–30.

he had heard from Abbot Berethun that he had said it was a bad thing to bleed when the moon was waxing and the springtide approaching.[1] In the *Penitential* he also discusses the comparative wholesomeness as well as ceremonial cleanness of different kinds of food.[2]

"His hand was strong and versatile, his activity marvellous, his accomplishments very numerous, and his influence unbounded. His piety and religion, however, although always mentioned with reverence, do not seem to have been of the type which commended itself to the monastic hagiographers, for no life of Theodore seems ever to have been written, nor were miracles worked at his grave. . . . It is difficult, if not impossible, to overstate the debt which England, Europe, and Christian civilisation owe to the work of Theodore. He was the real organiser of the administrative work of the English Church, and in that work laid the foundation of English national unity. He brought the learning and culture of the Eastern Empire into the West, and with the aid of Hadrian and Benedict Biscop established schools from which the scholars and missionaries of the following century went out to rekindle the light of Christian culture in France and the recently converted parts of Germany. His work was for the most part one of unwearied unpretentious industry, his culture was for the time enlightened and tolerant, and although he has never been canonised or even

[1] Bede, *H.E.*, v. 3. [2] *Pen.*, II. xi. 5.

beatified, both his character and his work seem to place him among the first and greatest of the saints whom God has used for the building up of the Church and the development of the culture of the world." [1]

Mr. Haddan has condensed a similar view on the remarkable personage we are dealing with in a few sage remarks. He speaks of him as "the practical administrator, the lines of whose building in the Church of our land underlie its foundations and remain in substance unchanged to this very day. . . . The pastoral system, thoroughly supervised by bishops with sees of manageable dimensions and worked by an educated clergy, and the whole regulated by an annual synod—such were the four points on which, helped perhaps by Eastern experience, his whole work was concentrated."

We will now devote some further paragraphs to Theodore's great antagonist, Wilfrid.

Autocratic in temper, and full of the importance of his office and of his own personality, he seems to have had serious differences with all the principal men of his time in England, and his life is a series of quarrels followed by expatriation. We have seen how he was received by King Aldfrid of Northumbria, and was restored to his old position and to his old appointments. For five years things seem to have gone on pretty smoothly, with occasional differences. These at length culminated in a quarrel between him whom Æddi calls "the most wise king"

[1] Stubbs, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 932.

(*inter reges sapientissimum et sanctum visum*) and his bishop, and Wilfrid was again and for the last time expelled from Northumbria.

It is a curious fact that both Bede and Æddi have practically nothing to tell us about Wilfrid's doings during these five years. Æddi merely says: "*Iterum in concordia et iterum in discordia . . . viventes manebant.*" Mr. Wells cynically remarks on this that "it is curious to note that both Bede and Æddi tell the more of Wilfrid's good deeds the farther he was from Northumbria and their own observation."[1]

From Bede's *Life of St. Cuthberht* we learn that, after the death of the latter, Wilfrid administered the see of Lindisfarne for a year, which brought "such a breeze of trial to the monks that many thought to leave their home rather than dwell there at the risk of expulsion."[2] Mr. T. Arnold suggests that the breeze may have been connected with some attempt on Wilfrid's part to substitute the Rule of St. Benedict for that which their founder, St. Aidan, had brought with him from Iona, and under which the monks had lived for fifty years.[3] It is probable that Wilfrid only administered the diocese until another appointment was made. This came within a year, and in 688 Eadberht became Bishop of Lindisfarne.[4] We may be sure that the exacting though tempestuous bishop

[1] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1891, 548, note.
[2] *Vit. Cuth.*, 46; comp. *de Mirac. Cuth.*, 37, and *Bede*, iv. 29.
[3] *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls ser., i. 35, note. [4] *Bede*, iv. 29.

administered his diocese in a very efficient way, and that he insisted on his priests and other subordinates being efficient too, while he doubtless used his resources without stint to beautify the fine churches he had built. All this he could do admirably ; what he could not, or would not do, was to bend his proud head to the authority of others who were set over him.

There were three causes, we are told, of friction. The first one was of old standing, and referred to the fact that the lands which once belonged to the Church of St. Peter (*i.e.* St. Peter's, at Ripon) were not restored to him. These lands probably consisted of the large territory once granted to that church, and were situated in north Lancashire and elsewhere. The second grievance was, that one of the monasteries which had once been his had been converted into an episcopal see. This again was doubtless Ripon, of which he had been abbot. Eadhaed, the bishop of the *Lindisfari*, or Lincolnshire, had had to leave that province when it was conquered from the Northumbrians by the Mercian King Æthelred, and thereupon a new and very short-lived see was constituted for him at Ripon, where he doubtless lived in the monastery. It must have been galling to Wilfrid to have the monastery which he looked upon as his own child, and which he had fostered so anxiously, converted into the home of a bishop whom he could not very well like, and who had been placed there without his consent, while he himself was virtually ousted from it. "To

take from him Ripon," says Dr. Bright, "the home of his presbyterate and of his first years in the episcopate, was to touch him in the tenderest point. The minster was dearer to him than Hexham, dearer in one sense than York itself. There was doubtless no day in his past life to which he looked back with greater pleasure than that on which, in the presence of all the magnates of Northumbria, he had solemnly dedicated the basilica, and, standing before its altar with his face to the assembly, had recited a list of all the lands secured to him by a royal grant, and of all the sacred places which the British clergy had held and forsaken." [1]

The fact of Wilfrid pressing this second grievance shows that Eadhaed was still at Ripon, and that Æddi was mistaken and has misled Dr. Bright into the view that he had been displaced when Wilfrid returned in 686. Bede gives no countenance to such a view, and says nothing of the displacement of Eadhaed, which would in fact have been a very unjust and arbitrary act, unless he had committed some canonical fault. We may well believe, however, that Eadhaed's continued presence at Ripon, so near to York, while Wilfrid held the see of the Yorkshire capital, would be a continual irritant to the latter.

The third grievance was that he had been ordered to obey the judgments and decrees of Archbishop Theodore. These decrees were those which, as we have seen, Theodore had issued in

[1] Bright, *op. cit.* 412.

the middle part of his career, when discord had arisen in Northumbria—that is to say, the regulations by which he had partitioned the original most unwieldy diocese of Northumbria into three separate bishoprics without its bishop's consent.[1]

It is clear that Wilfrid had only provisionally accepted the conditions on which his return to Northumbria had been secured, and that when once again on his ancient seat he revived and pertinaciously fought for his ancient rights and powers, and that the King, finding his attitude intolerable, insisted on his leaving Northumbria.

Æddi tells us that he now repaired to his friend, King Æthelred of Mercia, who, from his devotion to the Holy See, received him kindly and conferred on him a portion of the diocese of Mercia, over the whole of which Saxwulf had recently presided. The see of Lichfield was in fact divided in two, Mercia proper being given to Haedde,[2] while Wilfrid was entrusted with the charge of that of Leicester, and looked after the country of the South Angles. It is possible that the latter's position there was rather that of administrator of the diocese, and that he was subordinate to the Lichfield bishop.

At this time the see of Canterbury became vacant by the death of Theodore. Wilfrid, *more suo*, took upon himself the function of consecrating two bishops during the vacancy. This notable fact has escaped any reproof from previous writers, but

[1] Æddi, ch. 45 ; Bright, 414, 415.
[2] See Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 623–24.

it would seem to me to have been the most extraordinary exercise of irregular authority that even he was guilty of. Instead of waiting for the appointment of Theodore's successor, who as Metropolitan would have been the authorised consecrating prelate, he took upon himself to consecrate two bishops, he being then only a vagabond bishop without a see and with no deputed authority. Nor was there a pressing necessity, since the new archbishop would be available directly, and it was out of mere wilful arrogance that he broke all the recent traditions of the Roman Church to which he professed so much allegiance. This is not all. So far as appears he also broke recent canonical rules by consecrating the two bishops alone and without the presence or aid of other English bishops. This help would not indeed have been easily forthcoming, for he was at issue with the rest of the English episcopate. Those Roman champions who have so emphasised the necessity of the presence of more than one bishop at a consecration to make it legitimate, except in cases of dire stress, seem to have overlooked what Wilfrid, a Roman of the Romans, so arbitrarily did in England.

The two bishops in question were Oftfor and Suidberht. Oftfor had been one of St. Hilda's protégés at both Hartlepool and Whitby, and having, as Bede says, a desire for some more "perfect" system of discipline, had gone to study at Canterbury under Theodore. He then visited Rome, and on his return had settled among the *Hwiccians* in

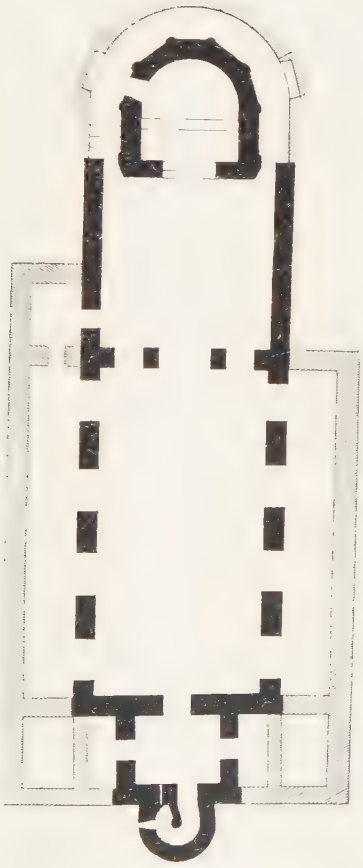
Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, then ruled by the sub-king Osric. There he preached and, says Bede, "lived a life consistent with his preaching." Presently he was, at the instance of King Æthelred of Mercia, consecrated bishop; this was in 691 or 692, the then Bishop Bosil having meanwhile become very infirm.[1]

The other bishop consecrated by Wilfrid was Suidberht, who, as Bede says, was one of the brethren who had gone to evangelise the Friesians. He was modest in manners and gentle in heart, and, having been elected by his brethren abroad as their bishop, was sent to England, and was there ordained by Wilfrid.[2] This was especially irregular, since the new archbishop had then been elected and was merely temporarily in France waiting for consecration.

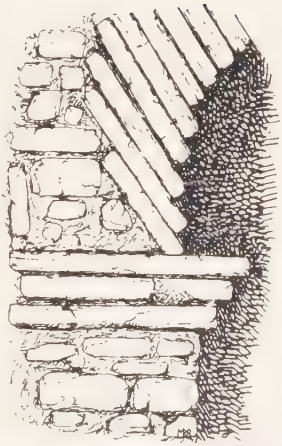
The only other direct reference to Wilfrid's taking part in a public function at this time is that in the *Life of Saint Ædilthrytha*, where we are told he was present at the exhumation of her body. This took place about the year 695.

The most important work of Wilfrid at this period was doubtless the administration of a wide and neglected district, where he seems to have founded several monasteries which the Danish invasion for the most part swept away. I venture to think that one of the monuments of his zeal at this time still remains in the well-known church of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire. Leland reports, on the authority

[1] *Bede*, iv. 23; Bright, 415, 416. [2] *Bede*, v. 11.



Ground Plan of the Saxon Chapel at Brinsworth.



Sinking of the Arch at Brinsworth.

of Hugo Candidus, the historian of Peterborough, that Brixworth "was the site of a monastery dependent on Peterborough which was built during the life of Abbot Saxwulf." The Rev. C. F. Watkins, formerly vicar there, says that on rebuilding the vicarage house some remains of this monastery were found, consisting of a Saxon arch which fell down; of an old wall, and of a transition arch, as well as some decayed coffins and skeletons.[1] In the *Saxon Chronicle* the place is called Bricklesworthe, and in Domesday Book Bricklesworde.[2] The imposing nature of the church and its style make it exceedingly probable that if Saxwulf was the founder of the monastery, Wilfrid was the inspirer of the minster.

I propose to describe it under the guidance of my friend, Professor Baldwin Brown, who has given an ideal description of the church and of the problems which it raises, in his excellent monograph on Saxon churches.

The original church, which was founded in the seventh century, was ruined by the Danes in the eighth. As often happened, says Micklethwaite, the church ceased to be monastic, and continued as a parish church. When it was repaired, the aisles were pulled down and the side arches blocked up. This saved the cost of roofing, and enabled the place to be put into order more quickly; and

[1] *The Basilican Church of Brixworth*, by the Rev. C. F. Watkins, p. 41.

[2] *Ib.* 43.

indeed it gave a church larger than was necessary for parish use. Later on, other changes came; the last, which we can identify as Saxon, being the addition of a round stone turret in the middle of the western side of the tower.

In regard to the method of construction of the church, Professor Brown says: "The use of Roman materials is obvious at a glance. All the openings are turned in Roman bricks, which are also employed here and there in the rubble walling, more especially at the corners. A few courses in the rubble work are laid herring-bone fashion. A little observation will show that these bricks were not placed by Roman hands. Generally speaking, in the larger arches there are two rows of voussoirs, one outside the other, separated by flat courses of bricks, concentric with the curve of the arch. In the two rows of voussoirs the bricks are set edge-ways, and should all point towards the centre from which the curve of the arch is struck. Since the bricks are even, the mortar joints should be wedge-shaped to secure the form of the arch. Here at Brixworth, however, the principle of the radiating joint in arch construction was evidently not under-stood by the builder . . . the bricks that begin the arch are tilted up at a sharp angle and wedged in position by a pad of mortar."[1]

Let us now explore the architectural features of the church. According to the same writer, the lost aisles on either side had "a sloping lean-to roof

[1] *The Arts in Early England*, 246–47.

South-West View of Brixworth Church.

[Vol. II, facing p. 183

abutting on the wall of the nave on a line marked by the sloping set-off in the wall under the upper row of windows. These last are the windows of the original clearstorey, and are of a type uncommon in this country. They resemble the windows of the early Christian basilicas of Rome and Ravenna in their openness and ample dimensions. The aperture is wider in the interior than on the outside, but the splay is nothing approaching to that which is seen in the ordinary internally-splayed lights of late Saxon and of Norman times, while the actual width of the external aperture, which measures about 3 feet in the clear, is much greater than we generally find in our Saxon buildings.[1]

"The church is entered through a round-headed doorway at the western extremity of the south wall of the nave, which is inserted in one of the old arcade openings on that side. The interior view looking eastwards reveals a temple of imposing size, with a length to the altar of more than a hundred feet, and a width of thirty. The space is, however, not unbroken, for at a distance of about 60 feet[2] from the western end there is a cross wall now broken by a single wide-pointed arch dating about the year 1400. Originally, as was proved by excavations in 1841, there was here an arcade of three arches supported by two intermediate piers, and by the piers which still exist as projections from

[1] The windows at Ythanchester, in Essex, are the same.

[2] The nave, says Micklethwaite, is considerably larger than that at Reculver, but it has the same number of arches at the sides.

the north and south walls. This screen cut off a space of, roughly speaking, 30 feet square before the arch leading into the apse." On the interpretation of this space planted between the nave and chancel in certain churches of this type, Mr. Micklethwaite and Professor Brown are at issue. The former says: "The square chamber between the nave and the apsidal presbytery is the transverse nave or transept of the Italian basilica. It is possible that at first it extended sideways to the walls of the aisles or beyond them, and was shortened when they were pulled down, but I have not been able to find any evidence of this in the work, whilst the treatment of the entrance to the *confessio* seems to indicate that there was a little difficulty in getting them in between the screen of the singer's quire and the south wall, which there would not have been had the transept been of full length."

Professor Brown questions the view that the space screened off before the apse has any relation to the transepts of Roman basilican churches. He says that in a rudimentary form we find it in the "stilting" of the apse in most of the early churches, *e.g.* St. Pancras and Reculver, which have this termination. This, he says, "occurs with some frequency in early Christian churches outside Italy, as in North Africa and Syria, and calls for no remark. The Brixworth arrangement is not to the writer's knowledge found elsewhere." He also compares the arcading used to cut off spaces at the

North-West Elevation of Brixworth Church.

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altar end of interiors with the same feature, in not a few churches in Spain. The nearest parallel to the form this takes at Brixworth he finds in the Carlovingian basilica at Michelstadt (Steinbach), in the Odenwald, built by Eginhard about 825 A.D. "The interior of this now desecrated building preserves clear traces of a cross wall about 12 feet high, which, with openings in the centre, formed a screen that cut off a space of about 16 feet from the east end of the nave.

"In the north wall, just on the eastern side of the projecting pier, there is a narrow doorway 3 feet wide, now blocked, and this would have led either into the open, or into some sacristy or similar building at the eastern end of the north aisle, which stopped at the level of the projecting piers. 'The arch of triumph,' to use basilican terminology, is 9 feet 8 inches wide with a height of nearly 22 feet above the floor in front of it, and gives access to a chancel with an apse bounded internally by a semicircle, but on the exterior by five sides of a polygon. A straight piece of wall before the semicircle and the polygon begin, gives additional depth to the presbytery, which measures 19 feet 2 inches from west to east by a width of 18 feet. At the external angles of the polygon there are buttresses 18 inches wide with a projection of 6 inches that are neatly cut to the form required. Of the actual walling of the apse only a portion on the north is original, the rest being a restoration. A buttress, however,

occurs in the original work, and included in this there was also a round-headed window, now blocked and invisible. There is no sign that the apse was ever vaulted. The present roof is of plaster.

"To the west of 'the arch of triumph' and on either side of it is a round-headed internally-splayed window and beneath these on each side a very low blocked doorway. On the exterior it is seen that these doorways once opened on, or rather *in*, a flight of steps (for these must have begun within the church) that led down to an ambulatory or passage round the outside of the apse, the floor of which is about 6 feet below the floor of the church.

"As can be seen on the north side, this passage was originally vaulted over and formed below ground a covered way round the apse that corresponded with the semicircular passages round, but as a rule within, the circuit of apses in early Christian churches on the Continent. Such passages generally give access to a small chamber called 'a confessio,' excavated under the floor of the apse for the reception of a sarcophagus or relics, but investigations have not revealed the presence at Brixworth of any chamber of the kind. On the other hand, in the exterior wall of this ambulatory, which is partly original, there are two arched recesses that seem intended for tombs, and correspond to the 'arcosolia' of the Roman catacombs."

East End of the Church at Bellworth

West End of Bellworth Church.

Professor Brown calls attention to an important detail to be seen at the bottom of the north-west corner of the tower, and also at the corresponding south-west quoin. Here the attachment of walls thinner than those of the tower and running in the directions north and south can be plainly seen, the lowest courses being in bond with the tower. These indications of buildings now destroyed, at the western end of the church, are important. In the two very early porch towers at Monkwearmouth and Corbridge there are signs of similar structures, which are more apparent still on the very late western tower at Netheravon, in Wiltshire. . . . The original nave arcade, and the clearstorey windows stop short before the eastern end of the nave is reached. The walls of the side aisles, the foundations of which have been laid bare, also stopped at the same point. These are the external signs of a peculiar feature of the interior plan which has been thus described by Professor Brown. He says : "We see on the ground storey a doorway of entrance of a moderate size, less than 5 feet in width. In the wall above it there are the springings of another arch of apparently about the same span, the crown of which, as seen on the western face of the wall, rose to about 20 feet above the floor. Traces of a blocked opening of much the same kind and position and of considerable width have come to light in the west wall of the nave of St. Martin's at Canterbury.

"Above this blocked archway comes a triple

opening, the openings of which are divided by baluster shafts. This opening cannot have co-existed with the archway just below, which is also indicated by the shape of the baluster shafts." Professor Brown accordingly argues that the western opening and baluster shafts belong to the time of the rebuilding of the church in the days of Eadgar, and proceeds to discuss how much of the present tower is primitive. He says that "the present ground floor of the tower has four openings on the four sides of the square. Of these the western one is now a mere doorway, 3 feet 6 inches wide, situated to the south of the middle of the wall, and giving access to the turret staircase, but marks in the wall show that it was originally a wide and lofty archway central in the wall, 6 feet 8 inches in span, with a height of 12 feet 5 inches—a monumental outer portal to the imposing interior. This shows that, like the triple opening with baluster shafts, so the turret and its doorway is posterior in date to the ground floor of the tower."

Professor Brown has, it seems to me, clearly shown that the ground storey of the tower, with its western arch and with the now blocked archway in the western wall of the church, were contemporary with the rest of the earliest fabric, and as he says: "It is clear that the lowest storey of the tower was a western adjunct of some kind. The date 680 is too early for us to think of a western tower. That feature would agree, however, very well with the time of restoration in the tenth century."

This late date, however, applies only to the upper part of the tower, and not to the room on the ground floor, which is clearly of the time of the early Church. There was, in fact, no tower here till the ninth century. It has been argued that the room in question may have been a porch, which seems very unlikely; others have thought that the chamber was a dwelling-place, to which access was obtained before the building of the staircase by some convenient external mode of ascent. As to the use of such an apartment, there is a treatise, says Professor Brown, by the Carlovingian statesman Eginhard, in which he tells of certain miracles wrought in the basilica he had erected about 830 at Seligenstadt, near Mühlheim-on-the-Main. "In the upper storey of the western choir he possessed what he calls a '*coenaculum*,' or upper chamber, in which was an altar, and which he used for his own accommodation during the services."[1]

In discussing the features of Brixworth church the same gifted author has a notable passage on the development of the basilica into the Romanesque church, which is not ungermane to my subject. He says: "It has been assumed that a few centuries of time was all that was needed for this development, but the basilica, when taken by itself, was strangely lacking in the necessary principle of growth. The Romanesque church derived from the basilica the main scheme of its rectangular plan, its division

[1] *Op. cit.* 303.

into nave and aisles, and clearstorey lighting, and its apsidal termination, but for its other chief characteristics, such as stone vaults, the use of pillars instead of columns in arcades, a choir as extension of the nave, the central pavilion or tower, galleries over side aisles, façades composed with a tower or towers, and the like, we have to look to other buildings than the basilica."

With the church at Brixworth Mr. Micklethwaite associated in one group of more or less the same date two other churches, namely, those at Wing, in Buckinghamshire, and Worth, in Sussex, but Mr. Brown has convinced me by his very effective arguments that both of these churches belong to a later date, and probably to the great time of revival in the days of Eadgar.

Wilfrid had been an exile from his old country, and his see had been occupied by other people for many years, when another effort was made to reconcile the difference between him and the Northumbrian King and Episcopate. We are nowhere told who initiated it, but it has been suggested that it may have been Pope Sergius, who at this time wrote a letter to Ceolfrid, the abbot of the joint monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. In this letter he informed the abbot that certain questions of an ecclesiastical kind had arisen (*exortis quibusdam ecclesiarum causarum capitulis*) which could not be settled without a long inquiry, and he wished to confer with some men of literary attainments, and asked that a religious servant of

God might be sent for the purpose.[1] It is not improbable that the matters referred to had to do with Wilfrid, and that it was the Pope who really started the negotiations that followed. The result was that a Synod was summoned by King Aldfrid with the concurrence of Archbishop Beorhtwald and the bishops of all Britain. The meeting-place was called by Æddi, in the heading to chapters 46 and 60, Ætswinapathe. It was near a place the name of which is written both Ouestraefelda and Estrefeld by Æddi. The latter is identified by Dr. Raine with Austerfield, on the confines of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, close to the great road leading north and south, and not far from the vill of Edwinstown in Sherwood Forest, where Raine says there is a very rude and early church. The name Ætswinapathe means merely the swines' path, and near Austerfield is still a place called Swinescar.[2] Wilfrid accordingly was respectfully (*humiliter*, says Æddi) invited to attend this Synod, and was promised that what had been done uncanonically should be righted. It is plain from what followed that he had not abated either his spirit or his demands in consequence of his long exile, and it was soon made plain that he would not be satisfied unless a considerable number of people were humiliated, a position they were not in the humour for conceding. Wilfrid came with several abbots

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 248 ; Bright, 438.

[2] Car, in south Yorkshire, means a marsh. See Raine, *Hist. of Church of York*, i. 65 ; Bright, 439, note.

from his monasteries in Mercia. At the meeting great altercation soon ensued and awkward questions were raised, chiefly at the instance of the bishops then holding and who had long held the Northumbrian sees, and some abbots, whom Æddi does not fail to charge with base motives of avarice. The King took the side of his own bishops and clergy. Wilfrid was pressed to say whether be was prepared to concur in the decisions and decrees of Theodore already named. He seems, according to Æddi, to have lost his temper and used some caustic phrases (*multis et duris sermonibus . . . increpabat*), and charged his opponents with having for twenty-two years resisted the apostolical authority. He asked them how they dared (*qua fronte auderent*) oppose the apostolical decrees (*statutis*) issued by the most holy Popes Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius, and presume to fall back upon the decisions of Archbishop Theodore, which had been made in a time of turmoil. He further said that he was willing to obey them, providing those decrees could be made to comply with the Canons. This saving clause, as Dr. Bright says, was like that of Thomas of Canterbury, "saving my order."

Meanwhile the King and his witan were debating the matter by themselves, and Æddi says that one of his ministers (? an ealdorman or a thane) whom Wilfrid had cherished from boyhood crept out of the royal tent, and, adopting a disguise, mingled among the soldiers as a stranger, visited

Wilfrid, and assured him that his enemies in the Council had determined to ruin him, that their proposition was a fraudulent one and had that end alone in view. They really, he said, wished him to commit himself beforehand, in writing to consent to whatever the Council decreed, with the intention of thereupon depriving him of all his property in Northumbria, both in his bishopric and in his monasteries. Further, whatever he held in Mercia was to be disposed of as the archbishop wished.

The thane having thus warned him, again withdrew secretly.[1] He was presently followed by a bishop commissioned by the King and the archbishop, who urged Wilfrid to adhere to such decisions as the archbishop should prescribe. He replied that he must first know what he was being committed to, and was told the archbishop would not disclose anything, but demanded his signature in the terms suggested. He then enlarged on the indecency of this proceeding, and said he might, if he complied, be committed to some course he could not possibly carry out. He nevertheless attended another meeting of the Synod, and again promised submission providing it was agreeable to the Canons and Statutes of the Fathers and not inconsistent with the judgments of the three Popes who had already adjudicated on the case.[2] It must be remembered that for all this dialogue we only have the very one-sided testimony of Wilfrid's apologist,

[1] Æddi, ch. 53. [2] *Ib.* ch. 53.

and that the brave words he puts into his hero's mouth are hardly likely to have been used before the King, the archbishop, and virtually the representatives of the whole English Church, who (except his own monks) were all hostile to him. If they were used, it must be said that the bishop's courage was greater than his tact.

"At length," says Æddi, "his enemies were constrained to admit that they did not mean to leave him even a little bit of a single small dwelling of his possessions in Northumbria or Mercia (*minimam quidem unius domunculi portiunculam haberet*). To this extreme measure the King and the archbishop were opposed, declaring that it would be wrong to cast out into the world such a famous man who had committed no criminal act, and they at length conceded to him the possession of his own foundation, the monastery at Ripon[1] and its appurtenances, with the privileges it had obtained from Pope Agatho, with this proviso, however, that he should remain within the boundaries of the monastery and not go out of them without the King's consent, nor perform any episcopal function.[2] These conditions, if true, were, it must be allowed, very hard, if not intolerable. According to Æddi, Wilfrid now addressed his opponents in defiant tones, asking them how they

[1] Bishop Eadhaed, who had been Bishop of Ripon, as we have seen, for some years, was now apparently dead, and with his disappearance there also ended the short life of the new see of Ripon, which was not revived again till 1836.

[2] *Op. cit.* ch. 47.

justified the treatment they had extended to him. He went on to recite the various occasions on which he had done notable service to the Church in Northumbria during the well-nigh forty years which he had served it. How he had been the first, after the death of the early missionary leaders, who had been sent by St. Gregory, to oppose and eradicate the evil plant of the Scottish usages; how he had procured the recognition of the true Easter and the true form of the tonsure in all Northumbria. How he had, again, been the means of introducing the primitive method of antiphonal chanting, and organising the monastic life according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and he resented the demand that he should now be called upon to comply with a sudden order that he must resign his great position and his notable possessions. He declared that he would not do so, and again appealed to Rome.

Thereupon, says Æddi, the archbishop and the King (mark that Wilfrid's panegyrist puts the archbishop in the front rank before the King) declared that he had made his own case much worse; twice he had appealed to the foreigner rather than to them (*quia magis illorum quam nostrum elegit judicium*). The King then addressed the archbishop and bade him insist on Wilfrid's submission, and said that he would put the forces of the kingdom at his service for the purpose. According to Æddi, the other bishops were not disposed to carry the matter so far, nor

to violate the safe-conduct given to Wilfrid.[1] It is clear, however, that they concurred in the verdict of the Synod. The same writer says that the Council, having fulfilled its main object, was dissolved and its members were dispersed. Wilfrid, thus released from the hands of his enemies (*liberatus de manibus inimicorum*), repaired to the most faithful King (*ad fidelissimum regem*), Æthelred of Mercia, and reported what had been done to him at the Council, contrary to his advice (*contra illius praeceptum*), in which phrase Dr. Bright sees evidence that Æthelred had written to the Council on his behalf. Wilfrid must have been sadly disappointed with what followed. After telling the King what had happened, he addressed Æthelred and asked him what he meant to do. According to Æddi, he said: "I do not mean to add new trouble to your trouble, nor to punish the monks of St. Peter (*i.e.* probably of St. Peter's at Ripon). I will keep the lands (*i.e.* the estates in Mercia) for you until I can send messengers or a letter with you to Rome to ask for instructions as to my conduct." The King apparently had misgivings when he found the whole English Church on one side and his protégé Wilfrid on the other, and his answer, however civil, was not very consoling.

Meanwhile, Wilfrid was sharply pursued by those whom Æddi styles his enemies, and by whom the Northumbrian authorities, lay and episcopal, are meant. They seem to have excommunicated

[1] Æddi, ch. 47.

him, and declared that if any abbot or priest who adhered to him should presume at the instance of a layman to bless food for him, using the sign of the cross, it should be thrown away as if it had been an offering made to idols, while the vessels from which they had drunk were to be deemed polluted until they had been washed and were not to be drunk from by the faithful.[1]

It is very significant that in regard to all these events Bede hardly says a word. In fact, his only reference to them is in a single sentence, in which he says of Wilfrid that five years after (*i.e.* after his return to Northumbria), being again accused by that same King (*ab eodem ipso rege*) and many bishops, he was again expelled from his diocese.[2]

Æddi tells us that Wilfrid was accompanied in his exile by Acca, his close friend and companion (who afterwards became Bishop of Hexham and who probably acted as his chaplain), by Æddi himself, and by others, and that when he set out it was amidst the lamentations of his brethren in England—that is, no doubt, by those of the abbots and monks who belonged to his various monasteries. He says they travelled on foot (*pedestri gressu super terram simul gradientes*), which seems incredible in the case of so old a man as Wilfrid. On their way they paid a visit to Archbishop Willibrord of Utrecht, and heard from him, as Acca afterwards reported to Bede, of the miracles the relics of St. Oswald the King had done in Friesland.

[1] Æddi, ch. 49.

[2] *Op. cit.* v. 19.

Wilfrid reached his goal in the early part of 704, and with his companions was granted free lodgings with the usual hospitality of the Holy See. It was many years since his last visit to Rome (twenty-five in fact), and a new generation of men was in authority there, few of whom had heard even his name. He petitioned for a hearing, declaring that he had come thither as to a mother's bosom, not to accuse any one through malice, but to challenge his opponents to produce a just cause of complaint against him, promising to submit if such were proved. Otherwise he wanted justice. While Wilfrid and his companions were waiting for a reply, messengers arrived from the Archbishop of Canterbury bearing letters of accusation against him, which they duly presented. Æddi remarks on their humble position, one only having been even a deacon. Having presented their charges, the Pope summoned a Court or Synod to deal with the matter. Following the words of Æddi: "John, the most holy (*beatissimus*) Apostolical Pope," with his co-bishops assembled from all parts, together with all the clergy (*et omni clero venerabili*), "Wilfrid the bishop, dear to God" (*Deo amabili*), being present. They proceeded to examine the question. The discussion opened with a formal petition from Wilfrid, of which the exordium is worth giving in its sonorous Latin: "*Domino Apostolico terque beatissimo universali*" (mark the word, which, as Dr. Bright says, had little more than a century before been reprobated by St. Gregory) "*papae Johanni, Wilfrithus simplex*

et humilis servus servorum Dei Episcopus." Wilfrid went on to say that the Pope knew what had brought him thither for the third time; it was to ask him to confirm the decrees of Popes Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius, it having been the practice of the Holy See to adhere to its precedents,—this was an artful way of putting it. He declared further that he was willing to submit humbly to whatever decision the Pope might adopt. He added that recently great discussions (*perturbationes*) had arisen in Britain, where the authorities had set themselves against and disobeyed the decrees of Agatho and his successors and deprived him of his episcopate and of his lands and privileges. He had accordingly applied to the Holy See for redress. After a good deal of rhetoric, Æddi reaches the really effective part of the petition. In this he asks the Pope to command (*imperare*) Æthelred, King of Mercia, for the comfort of his (Wilfrid's) life (*de vitae nostrae solatio*) to restore him the monasteries and lands which his brother Wulfhere and Æthelred himself had given him, and to protect him against any invasion of his rights.[1] This shows that Æddi's account of Æthelred's conduct towards Wilfrid after the recent Northumbrian Synod was very different, and much less friendly to Wilfrid, than he describes it. It would further seem that the latter had ceased to be Bishop of Leicester.

The petition then turns to Aldfrid of Northumbria, and asks the Pope to induce him to restore

[1] Æddi, ch. 51.

the rights formerly accorded to him by Pope Agatho and his Synod, including his episcopal position in Northumbria. If his restoration to York and its possessions should, however, be deemed too difficult and exacting, let the Pope settle that matter as he deemed best, but at least let the two monasteries of Ripon and Hexham be restored to him with all their lands and possessions. He went on to say that, in accordance with the Canons, he had always shown respect and brotherly charity towards Archbishop Beorhtwald. He promised to continue doing so, and urged that the archbishop should on the other side fulfil the decrees of Pope Agatho and his successors.[1] Bishop Browne, commenting on this letter, says: "We might think we were reading of Becket, who, whatever advances the King made, and whatever arrangements were proposed, was always ready to say yes, with the perpetually recurring saving clause which neutralised his acquiescence, 'saving our order.'"

After the reading of this petition the archbishop's representatives were introduced, while Wilfrid and his people received permission to retire to their small lodging (*habitacula nostra*), from which it would appear that neither he nor Æddi had any direct knowledge of what followed. This is also shown by the vague language the latter uses about the archbishop's charges against him, of which he merely says they were many and great (*multiplices et magnas accusationes*).[2]

[1] Æddi, ch. 51. [2] *Ib.* ch. 51.

Afterwards the Pope and the Synod conferred privately, and, according to Æddi, the former ordered the decisions of previous Popes to be looked up.[1] At a subsequent meeting the two parties were present, and the matter was more fully discussed. The representatives of the archbishop spoke first, and each charge was taken in order, beginning with the first, which declared that Wilfrid had treated the judgments of the "Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury and of all Britain," which had been acquiesced in by his Synod, with contempt. Thereupon Wilfrid, surrounded by his brethren and in full view of the Court, recited his version of what had taken place at the Synod of Austerfield. His statement was, according to Æddi, accepted by the Council. The members of the Court then began to imitate the Greeks (*Graecizantes*; perhaps speaking Greek is meant — it will be remembered that the Pope was himself a Greek), smiling and whispering among themselves so that Wilfrid and his friends could not hear, and eventually they addressed the accusers, saying: "You are not ignorant, dearest brothers, what is our practice according to the canons when many offences are charged against clerical persons. If the accusers are not able to prove their first accusation, we do not allow them to proceed with the rest. Nevertheless, because of the honour of the holy archbishop sent by this Apostolic See, and out of reverence for this blessed (*pro hujus beatissimi*) Bishop

[1] Æddi, ch. 52.

Wilfrid, *so long fraudulently despoiled* (*diu fraude spoliato*), *God and Saint Peter, the chief of the Apostles, having, as it is asserted, revealed and opened the matter to us*,[1] we will ventilate all the charges for many days and months, and finally settle the whole matter." According to Æddi, the Council actually sat for four months and held seventy meetings in order to try what must have been an everyday matter at Rome, namely, a dispute between a bishop and his metropolitan.

Eventually, on Easter Tuesday, it happened that the decision of the 125 bishops against heretics who sat in Synod under Agatho was being read in public, as was the fashion at Rome, when the following attestation to its Acts appeared among the others: "Wilfrith, dear to God, Bishop of the city of York, appealing in his own suit to the Apostolic See, and by that power absolved from certain definite and indefinite charges (*de certis incertisque rebus absolutus*), acting with other 125 bishops at a Synod sitting as a Court of Justice (*in synodo in judicii sede constitutus*), responded for the Catholic faith, for the northern lands of Britain and Hibernia, and the islands which are occupied by the Anglians and Britons as well as by the Scots and Picts, a declaration which he had corroborated with his signature." What an extraordinary record this is to be incorporated in the solemn finding of a Synod dealing

[1] These words are in Æddi's best style, and are as unlike as anything which would have been said on such an occasion by the Pontiff as could be.

with such great issues and which had to be read periodically before the Roman people! Can anything be more fantastic and incredible?

Æddi adds that when this sentence was read, all the wise Roman citizens were stupefied. Thereupon Bonifacius and Sizentius (Canon Raine suggests that the latter was the same person who became Pope and held the position for a few weeks in 708[1]) and some others who had known Wilfrid in the days of the blessed Agatho, said that the bishop who was present was no other than the same Wilfrid whom the very holy Agatho had absolved by the authority of the Holy See and had restored to his former position, and who had again been wrongfully driven from his post. For forty years and more he had filled the office of bishop, and he had now been falsely accused afresh, and by those who had presented charges in writing before the Holy See. Thereupon Pope John, according to Æddi, propounded a decree, in which he declared that—

"In regard to the Holy Wilfrith (*Beatus Wilfrithus*) the Bishop, dear to God, we can find no fault in him, after our small Council (*conciliabula*) has examined very diligently into the whole case. Let him be acquitted of undisclosed offences, by the authority of St. Peter the Apostle and chief of the Apostles, who has the power of binding and loosing. Inasmuch as the blessed Agatho and the elect Benedict (*electus Benedictus*) and the holy Sergius, Bishops of the

[1] Jaffé, 173.

Holy Apostolical See (*Apostolicae sedis praesules*), have previously passed judgment on his case; we also in our humility, with the consent of the whole Synod, have decided to send a written judgment to the Kings and Archbishops (*sic*) by the hand of the blessed Wilfrith."

Æddi then sets out what he professes to be the actual letter sent by Pope John to the Kings Æthelred and Aldfrid. In it they are addressed as "The most Excellent Lords, Æthelred, King of the Mercians, and Aldfrid, King of the Deri and Bericii." The letter is framed in courteous and diplomatic language. It refers to the dissension which had arisen, which it behoved the Kings to do away with, and not to treat the pontifical decrees with contempt, but, "like obedient sons before God, to see that all its judgments were carried out. The matter had previously been raised in the time of his predecessor Agatho at the instance of Archbishop Theodore (who had been sent by the Holy See) and of the Abbess Hilda. On that occasion bishops were assembled at Rome from various provinces, who duly inquired into the case and made a decree in regard to it. Theodore had not, as it would appear, refused to accept this award, nor had he made any subsequent accusations to the Apostolical See, but had rather, as appeared by his own statements, obeyed the pontifical decrees. It was not seemly that these dissensions should go on in one place only, while there was peace elsewhere."

So much for the past. As to the present, the Pope

assured the Kings that those who had come from the isle of Britain had preferred accusations against Wilfrid the Bishop and his companions, who had replied to them. The conflicting stories (*quorum conflictus*) had been duly inquired into by a meeting (*conventum*) of bishops and priests "who had been selected for the purpose," and who had examined all the spoken and written evidence, but inasmuch as some of the principals to the dispute were not present it had not been possible to come to a definite conclusion. In consequence, the Pope went on to say, he had directed (*commonemus*) Beorhtwald, the Bishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, whom he thereby by the authority of the chief of the Apostles confirmed as archbishop, to convoke a Synod together with Bishop Wilfrid. To this he was to summon the Bishops Bosa and John. They were to hear both sides and then duly inform him (the Pope) of its conclusions.

If it should result in a synodical decision, that would be the best for both sides. If this should fail, then both parties should repair to Rome so that the matter might be settled in a larger Synod; and if any refused or failed to go there, he should be deprived. The letter concludes with an adjuration to the two Kings to promote peace.[1] This document is a very curious one, and has the appearance of having been elaborately edited, if not entirely composed, by Æddi. That the Roman See, having summoned a Synod to try a cause

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. 52.

between a metropolitan and a contumacious bishop, and after sitting for four months and elaborately trying the case, during which the Pope and his advisers had, according to Æddi, entirely satisfied themselves of the innocence of Wilfrid and had openly said so, should fail to give a verdict, seems completely contrary to all we know of the proceedings of the Roman tribunal. Not only so, but that this Roman Court, which was the supreme court of appeal in the Western Church at that time, and most jealous of its rights, should remit the decision to an English Synod to be summoned, presided over, and controlled by one of the appellants seems inconsequent. In addition, the same president would have beside him the whole body of English churchmen who were violently opposed to Wilfrid and had already decided the issue against him. This seems so discreditable that we may with confidence attribute it to Æddi's perverse and tactless advocacy of the supposed cause of his patron. What the Pope actually did we do not know, but it is not improbable that, finding that the case was one likely to arouse dissension whichever way it was decided at Rome, he suggested to the English authorities that they should act with some forbearance and arrange a compromise, instead of running the risk of doing the Church a serious injury.

Æddi goes on to say (what is equally hard to believe), that the brave and indomitable old fighting man who never surrendered, and who had a document in his possession, so strongly in his

favour and so influentially backed, did not hasten home as fast as he could to trounce his foes with it, but confessed a strong wish to stay at Rome and end his days there. He adds that Wilfrid only consented to go when the Pope and the other members of the Synod pressed upon him that it was his duty to return and to finally settle the differences which had arisen. They accordingly bade him take with him the decrees and letters for the Kings and archbishop, and renew the joy of good fellowship (*gaudium amicorum renovare*).

With his companions Wilfrid therefore made an ambit of the sites at Rome where the saints were buried, and "after his fashion" made a collection of their relics, each one duly labelled, and in addition collected some vestments of purple and silk for the service of his churches. He presently set out with the Pope's blessing, and crossed the level and rough country (*per plana et aspera camporum et montium*) that intervened between Rome and Gaul.[1] On the way home Wilfrid fell ill and was carried in a litter. He had travelled as far as he could on horseback

[1] Æddi, ch. 55. Bright suggests they were also the bearers of a letter addressed to the English clergy, and given by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 264, which reads like bathos after the weighty issues lately discussed at Rome for four months. The letter reported that their brother who had recently visited Rome had, after due deliberation, decided to adopt close cassocks (*talares tunicas*) after the Roman fashion on the Vigil of St. Gregory. These they were exhorted by apostolical authority to imitate (Bright, 454). It seems to me, in any case, impossible to accept this letter as having been written by Pope John the First, since it is addressed *inter alios* to the archbishops of England, and there was only one archbishop at this time. If genuine, it must be later than this time, and written by some other Pope John. It is given by Mansi, 165–66.

(*equo primitus vehitur, postremo tamen . . . feretro portatus*), amidst the lamentations of his companions to Meaux (*ad Meldum*), where he arrived in a sorry plight, his attendants fearing that he was going to die. For four days and nights he lay as in a stupor and took neither food nor drink, the only signs of life in him being a faint breathing and the animal warmth of his limbs (*spiritus tantum halitus et calida membra*).

Æddi at this point reports a miracle. He says that on the fifth day of his illness, St. Michael appeared to him and told him that he had been commissioned by the Almighty to tell him that his life had been extended for some years, through the intercession of Mary the Mother of God and perpetual Virgin (*genetricis Dei semperque Virginis*), and through the tears of his dependents. The proof of it would be that from that day his health would improve, that he would presently arrive in his own country, and that his property would be restored to him so that he might pass the rest of his life in peace. The Saint promised to revisit him again in four years. He further reminded him that although he had built churches in honour of St. Peter and St. Andrew he had not similarly honoured the Virgin, and that it was his duty to repair this deficiency, after which he disappeared. This is a good example of "the miraculous" inventions with which the pious of that day worked on the imagination and feelings of the simple. Dr. Bright, who is generally very

sympathetic in dealing with mediævalism, says here: "The story of the apparition is one of those imaginations which degrade the sacred names introduced."

Presently, while his attendants were waiting and singing, he rose up and asked, "Where is Acca our presbyter?" Acca was duly summoned, and having arrived gave thanks to God with the rest. When the rest had withdrawn he remained alone with Wilfrid, who, says Æddi, "reported to him the vision he had had."[1]

Thereupon, having had his face and hands washed, he took some food and regained his strength, renewed his journey, and arrived at the English Channel.

Among the letters of Saint Aldhelm is one addressed to Wilfrid's clergy in the north, reproving them sharply for their behaviour to him and imploring them to treat him differently. It is undated, and may have been written during Wilfrid's absence at Rome at this time. It is composed in the incredibly rhetorical and inflated phraseology to which Aldhelm was addicted, and of which we shall give some examples later on. Dr. Bright has neatly epitomised this particular letter, largely pruning the phrases. In it he entreated them not to be "scandalised" by the raging storm which had broken over the Church, even if some of them had to share their prelate's lot in expulsion from home and compulsory wanderings abroad. Let them not be thankless to one who had lovingly trained them up from early

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. 56.

childhood to opening manhood; let them cling to him as bees cling to their king-bee (*Rex earum spissis sodalium agminibus vallatus*), etc., "through all weathers; let them remember the scorn and derision which would be poured on laymen who forsook a kind lord in his adversity"; "what," he proceeds, "will be said of you if you leave a bishop who nourished and brought you up, alone in his exile."[1]

Having crossed over to Kent, Wilfrid sent some messengers to Archbishop Beorhtwald, who, according to Æddi, promised to mitigate some of the harsher decisions of the former English Synod. Æddi adds that he was constrained to do this in obedience to the papal authority (*Apostolica auctoritate*). He adds that he was frightened and trembled (*territus est et tremebundus*) in consequence of the documents which the travellers had brought, and was reconciled to Wilfrid. We are not told that the two ecclesiastics (who were no doubt very sore with each other) actually met, or that Wilfrid visited Canterbury, and we may be sure that the terror and trembling reported by Æddi are liberal rhetorical ornaments to his narrative rather than an echo of the facts. On the other hand, the message of the Pope, which we may be sure was more tactfully composed than Wilfrid's report of it, would have considerable effect on the archbishop.

Wilfrid now proceeded to London with a large number of his abbots, and then to Mercia to his

[1] Giles, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 334–35; Bright, 446.

old friend King Æthelred, who, since his departure and after a reign of twenty-nine years, had abdicated and entered the monastery of Bardney, where the meeting probably took place.[1] To him, according to Æddi, Wilfrid delivered the documents which had been entrusted to him by the Holy See with their "bullae" and seals attached. On this occasion, if we are to credit Æddi, the King humbly prostrated himself on the ground, saying, "Never in my life will I despise one tittle of the contents of these apostolical writings, nor will I tolerate those who despise them, but I will maintain them to the best of my powers." Whether anything like this was said is very doubtful. If it was, it clearly came from Æthelred the monk, and not Æthelred the King.

When Æthelred abdicated and retired to a monastery, Bede makes him be succeeded by Cœnred, or Cenred. Neither Bede nor the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tell us who he was. Florence of Worcester calls him a nephew (*fratuelus*) of Æthelred,[2] while in his tables he makes him the son of Wulfhere. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. D, E, and F, Cœnred is made to mount the throne of the Southumbrians in 702, and that of Mercia in 704, the latter fact alone is mentioned in MSS. A, B, and C. The former entry is probably a mistake.

[1] The monastery was that of Bardney in Lindsey, where Æthelred had professed himself in the year 704 (*Bede*, v. 20), and where he became abbot. "He and his murdered Northumbrian wife had greatly loved, reverenced, and adorned this abbey" (Bright, 455–56).

[2] *Vide sub an.* 704.

Æthelred entreated Cœnred to cherish Wilfrid and to be obedient to the Holy See. The King had already undertaken to do so at his own instance.[1]

Presently, apparently on the advice of Æthelred, Wilfrid sent messengers to Aldfrid, King of the Northumbrians (*Ultra-Humbrensium regem*). These were Badwin the Presbyter and Abbot, and Alfrith the Master (*magister*), doubtless a monastic official. Bishop Browne suggests that he was a subordinate officer in the monastery, and adds that the Benedictine rule gave its monks a *magister*. They conveyed a message to the King in which Wilfrid asked him to give him an audience at which he might lay before him the letters of greeting from the Apostolic See and the apostolical decrees in his own case.

At their first interview the King, according to Æddi, adopted a friendly tone and even fixed a day for their official meeting. His councillors, however, were obdurate, and persuaded Aldfrid to another course. He then addressed Wilfrid's messengers, and said, "My venerable brothers, ask from me what is needful for yourselves and it shall be granted freely out of my respect for you. In regard to the affair of Wilfrid, however, do not ask me again to do anything against what the Kings, my ancestors, have done, what the archbishops with their advisers have determined, and what, later, I myself, in conjunction with the archbishop who was sent by the

[1] Æddi, ch. 57.

Apostolic See (*sic*), with almost all the bishops of nearly all Britain, have decided. These things, as long as I live, I will maintain, notwithstanding the alleged (*ut dicitis*) message from the Apostolic See." The words *ut dicitis* in this phrase is noteworthy.[1]

The messengers now returned to Wilfrid with the sad news (*tristem nuntium portantes*)[2] that Aldfrid had been taken seriously ill. The illness was, in the fashion of the times, attributed by Æddi to the King's contumacy. He characteristically presumes that the King must have known his own illness to be a stroke of the Apostle's power. He further goes on to relate a very unlikely story about Aldfrid's having in consequence of this illness, relented and repented of the treatment he had extended to Wilfrid; and, further, makes him declare that if he recovered he would make reparation to the bishop, but if he did not get better he would counsel his successor that he should for the sake of his own soul make peace with him. All this is a very unlikely thing for a King to do, who was also a learned man, and was styled "Philosopher," and who felt he had virtually the whole English Church with him. Æddi professes to have heard the report from faithful witnesses, of whom, however, he only names two, and these were very suspicious persons, namely, "the Most Wise Abbess Ælfleda," who

[1] Æddi, ch. 58.

[2] *Id.* ch. 59. The use of the word "*tristem*" here might be a remark of Mr. Pecksniff.

was the daughter of a king,[1] and Æthelburga, doubtless Abbess of Hackness, who could neither of them be contradicted, and who had every motive for exalting the Holy See. The King grew worse, and for many days lost his speech, and eventually died. This was in 705.[2] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says it was on the 14th December.[3] He died at Driffield, "the field of Deira," an ancient town in the East Riding,[4] which was probably an important residence of the Northumbrian Kings. According to Smith (the editor of *Bede*), his monument was still shown in his day at Little Driffield; but it has since disappeared.[5] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says he had married Cuthburga, sister of Ini, king of the West Saxons. They presently ceased to live together as man and wife, and she founded a nunnery at Wimborne, of which she became Abbess.[6] Bede does not mention her.

"The Philosopher King" who thus died was the last of the great rulers of Northumbria for many a decade who was a person of notable character and gifts, and the kingdom soon after his death fell into anarchy. Æddi, as we have seen, reports that on his death-bed he counselled his successor to deal kindly with Wilfrid. In doing so he uses a curious

[1] Her father was King Oswy.

[2] *Bede*, v. 18. His death is recorded in most of the Irish authorities and in the *Annales Cambriae* in 703 or 704.

[3] Plummer discusses this date and throws doubt on it, arguing that it must have been earlier in the year (*Bede*, ii. 306).

[4] See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. D and E, and Murray's *Guide to Yorkshire*, 1867, p. 119.

[5] Plummer, ii. 306.

[6] *Vide sub an.* 718.

phrase about the latter, and says, *Quicunque mihi . . . successerit*, showing that he had doubts as to who would succeed him.

As a matter of fact he left a son, Osred, who was, however, only a boy of eight, and quite unfit, therefore, to cope with the rough Northumbrian soldiery, and we accordingly read in Æddi's biography that he was succeeded by Eadwulf. He does not tell us who he was, but only that he reigned for a short time (*per parvum spatium*),[1] and he is completely ignored by Bede. We may be pretty sure, however, that he belonged to the royal stock. Perhaps like Aldfrid, he was a natural son of Oswy. Æddi tells us that on his accession Wilfrid went to him from exile, with his own son (*filio suo proprio*) "coming from Ripon," and sent envoys to him as to a friend. Under the advice of his councillors the new King received him with austerity and harshness and swore "by his own salvation" that, unless he quitted his realm in six days, he would give orders for his dependents (*sodalibus*) to be put to death wherever found. He had apparently resented Wilfrid's return to Ripon without asking his consent.

It would seem from what followed that Eadwulf was not allowed to hold the throne in peace. Æddi reports a speech by Berhtfrid, whom he styles the second in position after the King, and who was apparently the guardian of Osred. That prince and Berhtfrid were besieged at Bamborough, doubtless by Eadwulf. They were being hard pressed and were

[1] *Op. cit.* ch. 59.

sheltering among the clefts of the rocks and stones (*in angustiaque rupis lapideae*), when Berhtfrid held a council of his men, and it was determined that if God would succour "our royal boy" (*nostro regali puero*), then they would undertake to support and follow Wilfrid. Whereupon the forces of the enemy were won over, the gates were opened, they were freed from their hard position among the broken rocks, the foe was defeated, and Osred secured the throne.

Eadwulf was thus displaced after a reign of only two months.[1] He was apparently killed, for we do not hear of him again. Bishop Browne, however, describes a memorial of him. He says it was found in 1789 in the ruins of St. Woden's Church, at Alnmouth, and is now at Alnwick Castle. The stone, he adds, in its ornamentation, its Roman lettering, its Anglian initials, and its partial use of runes, is eloquent of the date at which Eadwulf died. "The letters which can be well made out are *adulfes dh . . . myredah meh wo . . . udwyg meh feg* (the grave of Eadulf . . . Myredah wrought me, Hludwig made me),—the former being probably the mason and sculptor, the latter the letterer."[2] He left two sons, to whom we may return presently.

Meanwhile Aldfrid's boy, Osred, mounted the throne. Æddi says he became Wilfrid's adopted son (*filius adoptivus factus est*),[3] and we may well believe he was under his complete control.

In the first year of Osred's reign, Æddi tells us

[1] Æddi, ch. 59. [2] Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 288.
[3] Æddi, ch. 59.

that Beorhtwald, archbishop of the Church of the Kent-men and of nearly all Britain, coming from the south (*de austro*), went, according to the precept of the Apostolic See, with the King of the northern parts, with all the bishops and the grandees of the whole realm (*principes totius regni*), to the place appointed for a Synod in order to discuss and settle the matter of Wilfrid. Here, again, we have to discount one of Æddi's extravagant statements. He would make out that the Synod was a national one attended by the bishops and clergy from all England. As a matter of fact, Beorhtwald was the only southern bishop who was present. The trysting-place of the Synod was close to and on the east of the river Nidd, which flows from the north-west by Ripon and Knaresborough, and falls into the Ouse at Nun-monkton, probably, says Raine, at the village of Nidd; Bishop Browne says it is quite near Ripon and therefore in Deira, a considerable distance to the west of York, and very far from Hexham and Lindisfarne.[1] Thither went the boy-King, with his ealdormen (*cum principibus*), with his three bishops, *i.e.* Bosa, Bishop of York, John of Hexham, and Eadfrid of Lindisfarne (the bishopric of the Picts had come to an end, as we have seen, and Lincolnshire no longer belonged to Northumbria), with certain abbots and with the holy Abbess Ælfleda (of Whitby), always, says Æddi, the comforter (*consolatrix*) of the whole province, and a most excellent counsellor (*optimaque consilia-*

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 216.

trix), which with him means a devoted friend of the clergy. The archbishop and Wilfrid arrived on the same day. The King, the bishops, and ealdormen having taken their seats, Beorhtwald addressed the gathering, and, according to Æddi, adopted a very conciliatory tone. "Let us pray," he said, "to our Lord Jesus Christ that He will through the Holy Spirit fill our hearts with the concord of peace. I and Bishop Wilfrid," he continued, "have received certain letters addressed to us by the Holy See, which we place in your hands for consideration." There were, we are told, two copies (*libri*) of the missive, and both of them were read.

Thereupon Berhtfrid, already mentioned, who is described as the second person in the realm after the King, spoke to the archbishop, and asked that the document might be translated. The archbishop replied that it was full of parentheses and ambiguous language, but the general sense of it in both copies was plain, and it was that the apostolic authority of binding and loosing, which was first given to the Apostle Peter, had counselled that in his presence (*i.e.* that of the archbishop) and at that Synod the bishops of Northumbria should be reconciled to Wilfrid. The Synod, however, was given the choice of two alternatives. First, it might decide the question itself, if its members thought fit to make peace with Wilfrid by giving up to him parts of the churches (*partes ecclesiarum*). Tthese words should be noted, for they clearly imply that the Roman See did not commit itself

to a demand for complete restitution)—or it might remit the whole matter again to Rome, to be there decided at a larger Council than that which had already sat upon the case. Whatever choice they made it was to be understood that any one who refused to accept the final decision of either of these tribunals was, if a king or layman (*rex aut laicus*), to be excommunicated from the body and blood of Christ. If a bishop or a priest, which would be horrible and shocking, he was to be degraded from all his ecclesiastical dignities. This, said the archbishop, is, in a few words, the decision of the Apostolic See.

The bishops' reply was not promising. They asked, very naturally, how any one could alter a decision which had been made by their predecessors, Theodore the Archbishop (sent by the Holy See) and King Ecgfrid, and which was afterwards confirmed at the Synod at Austerfield, where the great majority of the English bishops were present, including Archbishop Beorhtwald himself, together with King Aldfrid. As Bishop Browne says, it is pretty clear that but for the intervention of the Abbess Ælfleda, the bishops would have entirely refused the plea. The fact is that at this stage a dramatic, and probably carefully planned, intervention occurred, which proves what subtle influences have often decided great ecclesiastical questions. The Abbess Ælfleda, the widow of King Aldfrid, who, to use a homely phrase, lived in St. Wilfrid's pocket, declared that Aldfrid had,

at the close of his life and when he was ill, undertaken that if he recovered he would take care that all the decisions of the Holy See about Wilfrid should be carried out. If, on the other hand, he died, he hoped that for the peace of his soul his successor would carry out this, his last wish. Who was to gainsay this alleged death-bed message, or to question its integrity? Bishop Browne's cynical comment will be generally endorsed. "This," he says, "is the regular mediæval proceeding for a death-bed."[1] The speech of the abbess was supplemented by another statement by the chief ealdorman already named, Berhtfrid, who apparently spoke for the lay elements at the Witan, declared that it had been the wish of the King (*i.e.* the boy-King) and of his ealdormen (*principum*), that the decrees of the Apostolic See and the instructions of Aldfrid should be carried out. He went on to recall the undertaking given by them at Bamborough, when they were in great despair, as already described.

It was quite clear that the forces against the northern bishops, who apparently deliberated apart, were too powerful to enable them to offer an uncompromising and open resistance, and that some compromise was prudent. They took council at one time with the archbishop, and at another with Æthelfleda. They were doubtless determined upon one thing, namely, that none of them would give up his see that Wilfrid might secure his ancient

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 221.

diocese. At length an agreement was arranged which continued until Wilfrid's death. It was apparently decided that the various monasteries which Wilfrid had founded, together with the estates which had been vested in him on their behalf, both in Northumbria and Mercia, were to be restored to him. On the other hand, he was to be content to remain a bishop without a see. In regard to Ripon the matter was easy, for its first and only bishop (until the see was refounded in the nineteenth century), namely, Eadhed, was apparently dead, and it had already been offered to Wilfrid by King Aldfrid. In regard to Hexham, its bishop died at this time or shortly after, which also facilitated the transfer to Wilfrid. Meanwhile John of Beverley apparently administered the Church in the whole of the Northumbrian kingdom, with his seat at York.

The restoration of his several monasteries to Wilfrid must have secured him great influence as well as wealth, for it virtually marshalled the whole monastic body in them, a very loyal and devoted army, under his command, together with the nunneries which were closely tied to it; but it ended the hopes of Wilfrid that he would once more be a mighty ecclesiastic representing the whole Church of the north and a rival to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, above all, he had to forfeit the prospect of putting his foot upon the many enemies who had thwarted his ambition and caused him many miseries for forty years.

The long feud having thus ended, the bishops

interchanged kisses, and shared the bread of unity (*panemque frangentes communicaverunt*) and returned to their homes in the fear of Christ.

Dr. Bright neatly sums up the result as far as Wilfrid was concerned. He says: "The once fiery and imperious spirit of Wilfrid, bent and chastened by age and troubles, was content with the prospect of quiet and peace in exchange for the hope of triumphant ascendancy."[1]

Bishop Browne has a lucid paragraph about the extraordinary vicissitudes through which Wilfrid's episcopal life had gone, which I will appropriate. He says: "We have thus this strange record of his (*i.e.* Wilfrid's) episcopal connection with Northumbria. In 664 he was consecrated to the bishopric of the whole northern kingdom, both Deira and Bernicia, with his capital at York. For four years he was entirely kept out of it, till in 669 Theodore put him for the first time into possession of his bishopric, which then certainly included the whole of the great province. He held it for nine years (*i.e.* from 669 to 678), when he was expelled by or under this same Theodore and King Ecgfrid. For eight years his only connection with Northumbria was to be in prison there for nine months, on account of his appeal to Rome. Then in 686 he was made Bishop of Deira, with his seat at York, having first administered, but only for about a year each, the two sections of Bernicia (at Hexham and Lindisfarne). The bishopric of Deira he held

[1] *Op. cit.* 461.

for about five years, and then he was again expelled in 691." In 705, after an expulsion lasting over fourteen years, he returned, but remained for four years, until his death, a bishop without a see. That is, out of forty-five years of episcopal life, he was for five years Bishop of Northumbria, for five years Bishop of Deira, and for four years an unattached bishop—a rapidly diminishing scale of importance. "For eighteen years out of forty-five he acted as bishop in the northern kingdom, for twenty-seven years he was under banishment."[1]

An interesting communication that passed between Bede and Wilfrid at the close of the latter's life is worth recalling. The letter was written by the former in 707 to a monk called Plegwin. It seems that the latter was at his cups with some country monks (*rusticis*)[2] at Hexham when he heard them charging Bede with heresy, because he had in his work *de Temporibus* denied that the Saviour was born in the sixth age of the world. In this they had misunderstood him, the reason being that he had followed the chronology of the Hebrew text instead of the Septuagint. He asked Plegwin to read his letter to the most reverend Lord Wilfrid, since, as he had been present when the conversation took place, he might judge for himself how little he deserved the charge.[3] Dr. Bright remarks that the incident is a good proof of

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 224–26.

[2] He explains the word in his *Life of St. Felix*, ch. 8. *Rusticus, non rustice, sed docte et fideliter agens.*

[3] See Bede's works, ed. Giles, i. p. cxxxv.

the amount of interest in questions of Biblical chronology sometimes felt in those days even by rustic monks.[1] Wilfrid's presence at the gathering, where the great historian was being thus slandered without correcting the mistake, is not altogether a pleasant matter to recall.

We have seen how in the story of his vision at Meaux, when the archangel Michael is said to have visited him, Wilfrid was promised a four years' tenure of his restored dignity. Æddi says that as the time approached which the archangel had foretold as the end of his career, Wilfrid, when going to Hexham, was attacked with his old complaint, probably a heart seizure. Thereupon the whole body of monks (*omnis familia*) devoted themselves to the saying of prayers and the singing of psalms and entreaties to the Almighty to prolong his life somewhat, so that he might make proper dispositions of his property and proper arrangements in regard to the administration of his various abbeys. When news of his serious condition was spread about, a great concourse, consisting of all his abbots and of various anchorites from different places, gathered together at Hexham and joined their prayers to those of Wilfrid's own Hexham monks. This was probably in the spring of the year 708. He, in fact, recovered for awhile and proceeded to arrange his affairs.[2] In pursuit of this purpose he went to Ripon with two abbots and six of his most trusted monks.

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 475.

[2] Æddi, ch. 61.

He told the one who had its key to open the safe (*gazophylacium*) there, and to lay out all the gold and silver and precious stones before them, and ordered them to be divided into four portions, and then read out his will. He then said that it had been a great wish of his once more to visit Rome, where he had been often delivered from his troubles; there to end his days, and there to present one-fourth of the objects above named, being the best among them, to the Church of St. Mary (*i.e.* St. Maria Maggiore) and that of St. Paul (*i.e.* St. Paul outside the walls). But if God should decide otherwise, and his death should come before he could carry out this wish, he enjoined his friends to carry it out and to send these objects to Rome.

Another fourth of the objects above named he left to the poor "for the redemption of his soul." Another fourth to the abbots who had accompanied him (and who were probably abbots of monasteries in the diocese of Leicester), so that they might have a fund with which to purchase the favour of kings and bishops. This has a sinister sound when we remember how he himself had been charged by other bishops with having bribed the authorities at Rome. The remaining fourth he left to be divided among those faithful companions of his exile (each according to his need) to whom he had left no lands, in order to maintain them when he was gone.

Shortly after this he definitely appointed Tatberht the priest, whom he styles his kinsman (*propinquus*),

to be the Provost of Ripon, which post he had held during his own life, and in which he wanted him to continue after his death.[1]

After these arrangements had been made, the whole of the brethren at Ripon were summoned by the ringing of a bell (*pulsato signo*), and were thus addressed by Wilfrid: "Our most reverend brother Celin, for some time prior, who has worked assiduously in the cause of the Lord, is desirous of resuming the contemplative life of a hermit and to withdraw to a desert place. I do not wish to stand in his way. As to the rest of you, I ask you to keep your Rule until I return to you. Our two Abbots Tibba and Ebba, who are present, have come here from Ceolred, the Mercian King" (he had succeeded Cœnred this very year, the latter having abdicated and gone to Rome, where he died). "Ceolred has sent them to invite me to go and consult with him about the condition of his monasteries in that kingdom, and they have persuaded me to go with them. On my return I will bring with me the person best fitted to preside over this house, but if in consequence of my frequent infirmities anything else should happen (*aliud contigerit*), then I ask you to appoint as abbot whomsoever these witnesses (*hi testes*) who sit by me, the Abbots Tibba and Ebba, the Priests Tatberht and Hathufrith, and the Master (*magister*) Aluhfrith, shall recommend to you, and that you will continue the obedience to him which you promised in God to

[1] Æddi, ch. 62.

me.[1] This, like other things related in this life, sounds curiously in our ears, for it seems to be contrary to the democratic theory underlying the policy of the Benedictine Houses, which under their Rule had each the right to elect its own abbot.

The brethren thereupon sank on their knees, and with heads bent and in tears declared that they would carry out his wishes. He then gave them his blessing, and from that day they saw his face no more.[2]

Wilfrid now left Northumbria and went southward to Mercia, where he found that all his abbots had joyfully gathered together to greet him. He read to some of them the testament he had recently made, above described, and then "according to their measure (*suam mensuram*) he gave them lands to increase the resources of their life as monks, or he delighted their hearts with a gift of money."

At length he reached the district of Oundle (*provincia Undalum*), or, as the Anglo-Saxon version has it, *on Undalana Macgthe*, where he had formerly dedicated a church to St. Andrew the Apostle. There his last sickness came on, and there he addressed some consoling words to the monks. Æddi tells us that his chief confidant was his relative Tatberht, with whom he had all his life exchanged thoughts. To him, when reading one day and feeling his end approaching, he reported

[1] Æddi, ch. 63; Bright, 477. [2] Æddi, ch. 63; Bright, 477.

the events of his life, consecrated the various lands in different places to the purposes for which he had left them to the different abbots, etc., and nominated the priest Acca, who afterwards succeeded him as Bishop of Hexham, to take charge of the abbey there.

Acca was a person of considerable note. According to Bede, he had originally belonged to the household of Bosa when Bishop of York. When Bosa withdrew thence, and was succeeded by Wilfrid, he joined the latter. This was in 686–7, and when Wilfrid was expelled in 691–2 he accompanied him as his chaplain to Friesia where with him he visited St. Willibrord, from the latter of whom he heard of many miracles which had been performed there by the relics of St. Oswald.[1] He returned to England with Wilfrid, and, as we have just seen, was nominated as his successor in the Abbey of Hexham. It was from him Bede got a good deal of information about his master, and he was among those who persuaded Æddi to write Wilfrid's life. We shall hear more of him presently.

As Wilfrid's end approached, he addressed some more words to his spiritual children and blessed them; as Æddi says, "like Jacob blessed his son." Meanwhile, the monks continued singing the psalter in the choir. When they reached what Dr. Bright rightly names the sublime passage in the 39th verse of the one hundred and third

[1] *Bede*, iii. 13.

psalm (*Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terrae*), he died quite peacefully, without groan or murmur. He leaned back his head on his pillow (*caput ad cervicem lectuli inclinavit*) and passed away (*requievit*). We are told that the Abbot of Oundle (who at this time was Cuthbald[1]) decided that every Thursday, that having, no doubt, been his death day, should be treated among them as a Sunday with a feast (*in epulis*) in memory of their beloved founder—Bright assigns this order to Tatberht. He apparently died on the 3rd October (which was a Thursday), in 709, since his *depositio* is fixed on that day in the obituary of the Church of Durham.[2] Other authorities give other dates as the 24th April, which was that of his translation, and the 12th October, which in 709 was on a Saturday.[3] It occurs in the York Missal on that day.[4]

In addition to the memorial of their chief decreed by the monks of Oundle, as just mentioned, they also decided that on the day of his death there should be a special distribution among the poor of a tithe of their cattle and herds (*de armentis et de gregibus*).[5]

It was decided to remove Wilfrid's body to Ripon, and Æddi tells us that on the day appointed for the start, a number of abbots from all sides having assembled, one of them, named Bacula,

[1] See *Bede*, v. 19.
[2] Raine, *Fasti Ebor*, i. 81 ; see Bright, 479, note.
[3] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 328. [4] *Ib.*
[5] Æddi, ch. 64.

spread his silk robe (*syndon*) on the ground, upon which the brothers (*fratres*) placed the dead body, having first washed their hands and being dressed in their vestments. Thereupon, we are told, there was heard above the house where the body lay notes of music, as if it had been a number of birds singing, accompanied by the softly modulated sound of wings beating the air. "The wiser ones who were there," says Æddi, "declared that it was a choir of angels, with St. Michael at their head, who had come to escort the bishop's soul to paradise."

They then put up a tent outside (*extento foris tentorio*), and they dug a bath and bathed the body of the Saint, and on the spot the people afterwards erected a wooden cross, and there many miracles afterwards happened.

The body of Wilfrid, clothed in linen (*lintheis*), was put on a cart and taken to St. Peter's at Ripon, which Bede calls his first monastery, accompanied by a choir of abbots and monks who sang psalms by the way. When they reached Ripon they were met by the brethren there, carrying their relics, who were mostly in tears. They took the body into the basilica which Wilfrid had built, singing psalms and canticles, and there deposited it in the north choir-aisle of Ripon Minster. He was seventy-six years old when he died, says Æddi. Bede tells us his body was placed in a chest (*loculo inditum*), which is translated in the Anglo-Saxon version *on cyste gedon*. Mr. Plummer reminds us how in the heading to chapter 50 of Genesis in the

English version we read the quaint form of the same phrase, ver. 12, "Joseph . . . dieth, and is chested."[1]

His epitaph is given by Bede, and runs thus :—

"*Uilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore praesul,*
Hanc Domino qui aulam ductus pietatis amore
Fecit, et eximio sacravit nomine Petri,
Cui claves caeli Christus dedit arbiter orbis ;
Atque auro ac Tyrio devotus vestiit ostro.
Quin etiam sublime crucis radiante metallo
Hic posuit tropaeum, nec non et quattuor auro
Scribi evangelii praecepit in ordine libros ;
Ac thecam a rutilo his condignam condidit auro :
Paschalis qui etiam sollemnia tempora cursus
Catholici ad justum correxit dogma canonis,
Quem statuere patres, dubioque errore remoto,
Certa suae genti ostendit moderamina ritus :
Inque locis istis monachorum examina crebra
Colligit, ac monitis cavit, quae regula patrum
Sedulus instituit : multisque domique forisque
Jactatus nimium per tempora longa periclis,
Quindecies ternos postquam egit episcopus annos,
Transiit, et gaudens caelestia regna petivit.
Dona, Jesu, ut grex pastoris calle sequatur."[2]

It is curious that this epitaph is not given by Æddi, Wilfrid's biographer.

Florence of Worcester commemorates him in four lines :—

"*Wilfridus sanctis meritis, et nomine magnus,*
Jactatus multis per tempora longa periclis.
Quindecies ternos postquam egit episcopus annos,
Transiit, et gaudens celestia regna petivit."[3]

"Who shall say," adds Florence, "how many bishops, priests and deacons, and how many churches he dedicated in his episcopate of forty-six

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 320. [2] *Op. cit.* v. 19. [3] *M.H.B.*, 540.

years. His fame will continue for ever, and he had a worthy successor in Tatberht."

The silk robe on which Wilfrid's body had lain, soiled by the feet of those who stood around, was sent by Tatberht to the Abbess Cynethryth. She had it washed, and then took care of it till her death. The biographer gravely tells us that a poor nun who had a withered arm was cured by dipping it in the water in which the garment had been washed and touching it.[1] He mentions some other miracles alleged to have been performed at Oundle by the potency of the dead body, but they are of a commonplace type. One only is worth recording, which happened on the Saint's anniversary. On such an occasion, we are told, a white bow appeared in the sky, circling round the monastery (*viderunt . . . candidum circulum totum coenobium circumdantem quasi per diem, arcus coeli absque variis coloribus*). It was seen by the abbots who had congregated thither from all parts of the compass, and was accepted as evidence that Wilfrid had been made the equal of St. Peter and St. Andrew in heaven.[2] More picturesque stories of the efficacy of his relics in later times are told by that fine story-teller Ailred of Rievaulx.

In his account of the Saints of Hexham, he tells us how a certain youth was detected in a theft at Hexham, and was arrested by the bailiff and his men (*a praesidibus*) and put in chains until some one was willing to bail him out (*pro eo porrigeret cautionem*). In case none such turned up he

[1] Æddi, ch. 65. [2] *Ib.* ch. 67.

was to be executed, since "the franchise" of Hexhamshire possessed the right of capital punishment in such cases, known as *infangtheof*. As he could not find sureties and could not go to the shrine of St. Wilfrid or the other saints in the Church for safety, since his limbs were bound, he was content "to turn his eyes with great contrition towards the Church." Meanwhile he was taken to the place of execution, whither a large crowd also repaired, which surrounded the unhappy man in a ring and urged the executioner to get on with his work. The latter stood, says Ailred, with a furious aspect, a strong hand and a cruel mind, holding up the sword with both hands, and ordered his victim to present his neck (*cervicem producere*). Lifting his eyes once more to the Church, the latter said, "You must help me *now*, Wilfrid, if you are willing, for in a moment it will be too late" ("*Adjuva nunc Wilfride, quia si modo nolueris, paullo post non poteris*"). This rally provoked laughter from the crowd, in which the executioner joined. During which brief delay (*in qua morula*) two youths riding very quick horses rode up with the ransom, whereupon the culprit was released from his chains and allowed to go free.[1] Palgrave quotes this story as a proof of the utility of invoking saints, and of the resulting miracles in mitigating the iniquities of the law in those days!!![2]

Ailred has another story which shows, at all

[1] *Op. cit.*, ed. Surtees, ch. i. p. 177.
[2] *English Commonwealth*, II. cxxxi.

events, what the belief of the times deemed to be the capacity of friendly saints in time of need. In describing the raids of Malcolm of Scotland, the husband of St. Margaret, in the latter part of the eleventh century, he tells us how the Scottish king was on one occasion near Hexham, but was unwilling to let his troops plunder the privileged area. It happened, however, that some of his men were robbed by thieves near to the church. In his rage Malcolm ordered the town to be sacked. nor could the priest at Hexham, who sent some of his clergy bearing relics, appease him, and he ordered the Galloway men, who were famous for their cruelty, to execute his vengeance. The place was panic-stricken, and the old men, women, and children crowded to the church and made appeals to Saints Wilfrid and Cuthberht, Acca and Alchmund. Meanwhile the priest had fallen asleep, and in his dream saw two men splendidly vestured, wearing pontifical robes, tonsured, and of venerable aspect, coming towards him. They dismounted, and shouted to him to hold their horses while they said a prayer at the church, after which they would return to him. They then asked him what this wailing crowd in the church meant. "You may well be surprised," he said, "for we are all doomed to death at the hands of the Scottish king." The elder of the two strangers bade him be comforted, for no harm would happen to them while he was there, and that he had heard their prayer and had come to help them. "At dawn I will stretch my

net from the source of the Tyne to its mouth, so that no one will be able to cross it or to do you harm." Thereupon the priest asked who they were, to which he replied, "I am called Wilfrid, and my companion is Saint Cuthberht, whom, on my way here, I brought with me from Durham."

The priest now awoke and reported the vision he had seen to the crowd, who began to pray, while the clergy chanted psalms. At dawn a dense fog, known in the north as a sea-fret, came up from the west and bathed the Tyne valley. The men of Galloway set off on their murderous errand, but lost their way and presently found themselves on the borders of Cumberland. When the fog lifted, the river rose in consequence of a great flood, which caused a delay of three days, there being then no bridge across the Tyne, and the place was saved.[1]

Wilfrid's name is also closely associated with the Battle of the Standard. That battle was so named because of the banner of St. Wilfrid (*Wilfridi Ripensis vexillum*) which was placed on a pole inserted in a kind of cart, similar, says Montalembert, to that famous *caroccio* which the Lombards of the same period led into battle against the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.[2] The banner-pole was placed on a shrine containing relics of Christ, St. Peter, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid,[3] and this was laid in the cart. In the eyes

[1] Ailred, *op. cit.* ch. 2. [2] *Op. cit.*, Eng. ed., iv. 360.
[3] Richard of Hexham, *The Acts of St. Stephen*, Surtees Soc., 302, 91.

of the English it was very instrumental in winning the day for them.

It is perfectly plain that the remains of such a noted and picturesque saint would not be permitted to lie fallow after his death. They were much too valuable as a source of influence and income, and, as a matter of fact, few stories are more sordid in the very sordid annals of relic-mongering than the quarrel that afterwards arose about St. Wilfrid's bones. Eddi's and Bede's testimony are plain that the body of the saint was interred in his own monastery of Ripon. There they no doubt lay until the utter destruction and desolation of the northern monasteries by the Danes. Ripon, like the rest of the northern monasteries, remained in ruins for about a century. The next notice of it that is genuine is contained in the anonymous Life of Bishop Oswald, who held the two sees of York and Worcester. In that work we are told that he visited Ripon, of which he says "*quod tunc dirutum erat*," *i.e.* which was then in ruins. Oswald proceeded to rebuild it. The words of the Life are *Aedificavit novae Hierosolymae portas, construxit ipsius coenobii nova fundamenta, quae ad perfectionem perfecit et cum simplicitate cordis Deo obtulit.*[1] We are further told by this very trustworthy authority that Oswald then discovered the remains of St. Wilfrid (*praesulis beata membra*) in a hidden casket (*thesaurum absconditum*), and around it were found the precious Abbots Tatberht

[1] *Vita S. Oswaldi*; Raine's *Historians of York*, i. 462.

(*sic*), Botwine, Alberht, Sigred, and Wilden. Oswald thereupon had a shrine (*scrinium*) made in which the remains were placed.[1] This is most plain and most trustworthy, for Canon Raine shows that this anonymous Life was written between the years 995 and 1005 by a contemporary and companion of St. Oswald. There the remains continued to rest, according to the unanimous tradition of the North.

Presently, however, when the great struggle for supremacy took place between Canterbury and York and when all kinds of sinister methods, including forged documents, were used to sustain the cause of Canterbury, another story was invented, and, in order to support it, a poem was produced, attributed by William of Malmesbury to a certain Fridegod, of whom nothing else is known and which I have suggested in the Introduction was probably a forgery—a very useful forgery in the struggle just named.

According to this poem it was St. Oswald's uncle Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, who found the relics. What he was doing in Northumbria no one knows, and the anonymous Life of St. Oswald above mentioned, which is our best authority for Odo, does not mention his having paid a visit there, much less his having discovered the precious bones. The forged poem goes on to say that Odo moved the very remains to Canterbury which the contemporary Life of St. Oswald tells us were not found till the latter's time.

[1] *Vita S. Oswaldi, loc. cit.*

This did not prevent the Canterbury people from pursuing their claim to possess the remains of St. Wilfrid, and their champion repeats the story from the forged poem and gives a sophisticated version of the narrative of the anonymous Life just cited, in which he argues that the body which the Northern people claimed to possess was not that of the great St. Wilfrid, but of his nephew, the second Wilfrid, who was anything but a saint.

They did not neglect their supposed treasure at Canterbury, and in his Life of St. Audoen, Eadmer tells us that the bones of St. Wilfrid were placed in the greater altar situated in the part of the wall of the eastern presbytery, and built of unwrought stones (*impolitis lapidibus*) and cement. This, according to Eadmer, was in the old church. When that was burnt and Lanfranc rebuilt it, the remains of the various saints were collected and placed in a reliquary. Presently they were deposited in a more stable place and put into a tomb on the northern side of the altar.[1] Capgrave dates this second translation on the 4th of the ides of October.

With the evidence here presented as to the factitious pedigree of Wilfrid's alleged remains at Canterbury, it is rather sad to read the following sentence in Montalembert's very attractive book. Having mentioned the name of Reginald Pole, he says: "By a strange and touching coincidence it is beside the tomb of this last Roman Catholic

[1] Eadmer, *Vit. S. Wilfridi*; Raine, *op. cit.* 226.

Archbishop of Canterbury, in the cathedral, sprinkled with the blood of St. Thomas the martyr, that the relics of Wilfrid *now* rest, having been transferred to the Church of the Primacy in 959, to save them from the sacrilegious rapacity of the Danes."[1]

It is clear that the Northumbrians never doubted that the story of the translation of their great bishop to Canterbury was a fabrication. In 1226, Archbishop Gray of York himself made a solemn translation of Wilfrid's remains, and left it on record that he found the body complete, not a bone being wanting.[2] The Cathedral of York professed to have in its Treasury at the Dissolution one of Wilfrid's arms enclosed in silver, but this might have been transferred from Ripon. It must not be forgotten that the possession of the bones of Wilfrid was used as an argument in favour of the supremacy of Canterbury over York.[3]

William of Malmesbury, in reporting this sordid quarrel about the poor bones, speaks of the *lis inextricabilis inter Cantuarienses et Eboracenses*,[4] and we shall all agree with Canon Raine that "there is nothing more discreditable in mediæval history than this relic-mongering."[5] When we turn to the monuments which Wilfrid left behind him, the great cause of surprise is that we have nothing extant from his pen, nor have we any evidence that there ever was anything. When we

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 368–69.
[2] Raine, *op. cit.* xcvii.
[3] Raine, *op. cit.* xlvii. and xlviii.
[4] *Gest. Pont.*, 245.
[5] *Op. cit.* xlviii.

consider how long his career was, how able and astute he was, what authority he wielded among men, how polemical his nature was, and how remarkable his taste was in all the decorative arts and that of music, it remains a notable fact that he has not left a line behind him. For his monuments we must turn to the great and sumptuous churches he built. They were for the most part swept away by the Danes, but we have ample evidence that they were remarkable if not unique specimens of the art of the times. About one church attributed to him by Ailred of Rievaulx we know nothing beyond his too scanty description, and if really built by him it must have been of unique interest. It has been overlooked by the historians of the Church and of architecture, and no wonder, since it is contained in one of his stories.

In this we read that the blessed Wilfrid once built a church in honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary. It was round in shape and had four porches (*quatuor porticus*) facing the four quarters of the world (*quatuor respicientes mundi climata*). This was destroyed during the usurption of the Danes, but was afterwards restored by a priest. Ailred goes on to describe an outrage that was committed there in the time of Henry the First.[1]

Of his other great architectural works only two or three crypts remain, while of the treasures of art which he amassed all are gone but two or three books, with a not too complete pedigree.

[1] *De Sanct. Eccl. Hagust.*, ed. Surtees, p. 183.

Canon Raine says that in Ripon Minster Library, by the gift of the Marquess of Ripon, there is now a service book in memory of St. Wilfrid which was used at Ripon in the fifteenth century. The Gospel book in four volumes written in golden letters on purple vellum, and mentioned in his epitaph, has been identified by Professor Wattenbach with the Gospels of the Hamilton Collection.[1] The latter book is not only a sumptuous specimen of seventh-century calligraphy, but notable for its Latin text of the Gospels, which is twenty years older than that in the famous *Codex Amiatinus*, to be described later on. It is now in the collection of the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan in America, and its loss to this country is an irreparable one.

In the York Treasury, according to Canon Raine, there were two *Evangelisteria* which used to be Wilfrid's, and were richly ornamented with silver and gold. In the side of one of them was a crucifix.[2] "His signet or seal was supposed to possess a peculiar power to cure cattle of the murrain. When the men of Ripon sent out a contingent to the wars, Wilfrid's banner floated over their heads. His Minster of Ripon became one of the four mother-churches of the diocese of York, and honour after honour was heaped on it," while "many churches were dedicated in his name."[3]

Few characters in history had more dramatic

[1] *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, viii. 329 ff.; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 329.

[2] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iv. 1185.

[3] *Ib.* 1184.

lives than Wilfrid, and whatever views we may have about his character and his conduct, his name will always remain as that of one of the most striking personalities and picturesque figures in the history of the English Church. He started with all the advantages attaching to a man of wealth and of good family, with rare abilities and with the strong will and pertinacious energy and determination that mark the heroic figures of history. He was born with a dominating ambition, a great faith in himself, and an overbearing self-willed temper which would not brook opposition. He began as a boy by quarrelling with his home. He apparently quarrelled with his first companion in travel, Benedict Biscop, who found him an impossible person to make a journey with. He quarrelled with his old teachers in Northumbria, the Scotic clergy and their teaching. It was this temperament (which stood in his way through life) which probably prevented him from being selected instead of Theodore to be the head of the English Church, for which he had many necessary gifts. He quarrelled successively with several kings of Northumbria and Mercia, with two archbishops (one a foreigner and the other an Englishman) and with the majority of the English bishops, and in fact he seems to have had no friends among the clergy except the monks, whose training made them subservient, humble, and obedient, and who were greatly dependent on him and proud of him and his extraordinary courage, pertinacity, and opposition to compromise.

Their successors continued to exalt his fame at all hazards.

Montalembert is constrained to say of him that many of his enemies were saints: and of all the holy bishops and abbots of his time, so numerous in the Anglo-Saxon Church, not one was his ally, not one held out to him a friendly hand in his trials and combats. Many even showed a sort of inexplicable animosity against him.[1] "Thorough" was the motto he might have chosen for himself if mottoes had been then in vogue. He caused the English Church much pain and trouble by his continual combativeness, and despite occasional superficial triumphs he ended by a mortifying defeat. He passed more than half his days in exile, and led the life of a vagabond among bishops going from see to see. His triumphs were nominal only, for although the Roman authorities were devoted to his cause,—easily explained by his unflinching championship of what we call Ultramontanism, and by the fact that he was essentially a Pope's man to the backbone,—his appeals to Rome against his own Metropolitans were perhaps welcomed there as proof that Rome was becoming an Appellate Court, and it was flattering to the Curia to have it thought that one Church at least was willing to submit its troubles to the Apostolic See for settlement. It in reality led to the humiliation of that see, for its decrees were ignored and treated with contumely by the English Church, and

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 370.

parsons and laymen stood together in resisting what they deemed an attempt at foreign domination. Yet the very fact of the appeal in which the head of the English Church was really the defendant accustomed men to the sending to Rome for help and counsel. The practice presently grew, and with the increased tactfulness and skill of its officials Rome presently became the dominant court of appeal in ecclesiastical matters in Europe.

Wilfrid had another side. He was a lover of pomp and ceremony and a patron of art and culture. As we have seen, no man ever did more to fill England with fine treasures of art, stained glass and marbles, coloured hangings, richly jewelled books, and stately mosaics. He introduced the Benedictine Rule into Northumbria, although he kept a tight hand over the monasteries of his own foundations, and appointed his own abbots in spite of the well-known Benedictine regulation. He was the most efficient instrument in doing away with the Scotic schism in the north, and he was a good deal more than an ecclesiastic. He was in a measure a politician, and like Wolsey a grand seigneur, with an advantage over Wolsey in that he was born in the purple, and from a boy was treated as an equal by kings and other grand people. About his private life we know little. The only evidence that he was not impeccable in matters which a celibate clergy measure more severely than other men is the fact openly mentioned by his biographer that he had "a proper son," which can only mean a legitimate son.

Is it possible that that son had a royal mother, whom he induced by subterranean methods and duplicity to break her marriage vows in a way which his French champion is constrained to describe as "one which no one in the Catholic Church would now authorise or approve"?[1]

In spite of his faults and foibles Wilfrid's life will always have an attraction for those who cannot help offering homage to the strong, the self-confident, the courageous, the undaunted, the pertinacious, and who, in popular phrase, "never say die." He never ran away, but faced the cold blast, however it blew, to the end, in spite of the consequence. The Church has had many such men, *e.g.* Thomas à Becket and Laud. I myself knew one well, on a smaller scale, namely, Dr. Molesworth, vicar of Rochdale, whose living was endowed like a bishopric, for it was worth £5000 a year. He was a very able and a very masterful person, and resented the fact that he had not been made first Bishop of Manchester instead of the scholar selected for the post. He kept up an indomitable fight with that very able bishop and with another "Paladin," a very able politician, John Bright, and made them both stoop at times before his imperious will. I remember well, not many years before his death, when he was an octogenarian, meeting my vicar. He had just come out of an icy bath. A scathing letter had appeared from the bishop in a newspaper in answer to one of his own. When I

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 244.

ventured to sympathise with him he replied like a berserker, "When I throw a stone at a dog and it yelps I know that I have hit him." There is an heroic ring about that tremendous phrase.

NOTE.—In regard to the decree issued by Pope Agatho after the decision in Wilfrid's favour at Rome, Bishop Browne has an interesting note. He says that it was probably attested by the leaden bulla of the Archdeacon of the Holy See. "Now it happens that among the refuse of a kitchen midden some little distance from the cliffs at Whitby and on the land side of the abbey there were found a number of bones, a comb with runes scratched on it, etc., together with a leaden bulla inscribed +BONIFATII+—ACEIDIAC+, who, we can hardly doubt, was the same archdeacon who had been so attentive to St. Wilfrid on his first visit to Rome, and this was probably one of his bullæ." See Browne, *Early English Church History*, 39, etc.; *Theodore and Wilfrid*, 151. The bishop suggests that when the decree was rejected with despite, the bulla may well have been thrown into the kitchen midden.

CHAPTER IX

THE LATER DAYS OF ST. BENEDICT BISCOP, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF HIS MONASTERIES —THE ABBACY OF CEOLFRID: HIS INFLUENCE IN CONVERTING THE SCOTS TO THE ORTHODOX FOLD, AND IN THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LETTERS IN NORTHUMBRIA

Let us now return again to Benedict Biscop, the contemporary and the antithesis of Wilfrid. He had no part in the tempestuous politics of that stirring age. His rôle was very different; it was to follow the best ideals of a monk's life, such a life as that of his great namesake, who would no doubt have specially cherished such a disciple.

After he had safely conveyed Theodore to England and taken charge of St. Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury during the enforced absence of Abbot Hadrian, he, on the arrival of the latter, set off again for Rome.

There he prosecuted his mission of collecting books for the great library he was amassing in Northumbria, and which was to originate the English renaissance in religious matters, of a few years later. He secured many books by gift and

purchase in Italy, where they were little valued at this time, and where learning was sinking lower and lower. He returned home by Vienna-on-the-Rhone, the modern Vienne, where he picked up the purchases which his friends and agents had made for him, and travelled through France, no doubt with a considerable cavalcade of well-laden sumpter beasts.

On reaching England he first visited the West Saxon kingdom to have a conference with his old friend and patron, King Coinwalch. The latter was at this very time, however, carried off by a sudden death, and, feeling lonely in that turbulent west-country, Biscop went on to his old native land of Northumbria, where it was many years since he had been before, and where his name was only now known to a few. There the high-born monk visited King Ecgfrid, who was at this time in a mood to welcome such a companion to comfort him for his wife's conduct. Encouraged by Wilfrid, Benedict's former friend, she had, as we have seen, deserted her husband and taken the veil at Coldingham, a monastery presided over by Ecgfrid's aunt.

We are told by Bede that his guest related to the King (no doubt in glowing colours) the story of the many wonderful things he had seen since he had been at home before, and described especially the great and well-organised monasteries where he had passed so many of his recent days, and no doubt showed him such treasures in the shape of "divine volumes" and relics of "the blessed

saints," to use Bede's phrases, as he had not seen before. No doubt, too, he opened his mind to him on his life's ambition, namely, to establish in Ecgfrid's own kingdom an unmatched school of learning. He found the King very amiable, and he so interested him that he made over to him out of his own private demesne (*de suo largitus*)[1] seventy hides of land, or, as Bede puts it, land for seventy families, in order to found a monastery. This was at the mouth of the Wear (*ad ostium fluminis Wyri*), in the modern county of Durham. Benedict's ideal of his new church was that it was to be built in the Roman fashion which he loved so well (*quem semper amabat morem*), by which is no doubt meant a church of stone.

He secured a very useful companion to help him in carrying through his venture, namely, his relative (also a high-born person), Ceolfrid,[2] of whose earlier life we must now say something.

Bede tells us he was born of noble and religious parents; his father was a royal thane, and was not less distinguished for his piety than for his rank. Ceolfrid's biographer mentions an instance of his extravagance. He had invited the King and court to an entertainment at his house. The banquet is described as "*permagnificus*." The sudden incursion of an enemy obliged the King to depart before beginning the feast, on which the ealdorman did not hesitate, but sent out his messengers and invited all the poor of the district

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 4. [2] *Anon. Hist. of the Abbots*, pars. 2 and 17.

to supply the place of the King and the nobles, and, dividing them into two parties, he himself waited on the men while his wife waited on the women.[1]

Ceolfrid was brought up from early youth with the intention of adopting a religious life. At eight or ten, he put on his monkish habit and entered the monastery of Ingetlingum (*i.e.* Collingham),[2] where his brother, Abbot Cynefrid, then ruled. He committed him for instruction to a relative of his named Tunberht, who afterwards became Bishop of Hexham. According to the *Anonymous History of the Abbots*, Cynefrid had been to Ireland for the purpose of studying the Scriptures and "of seeing the Lord more frequently in tears and prayers." He was soon after, with many young Anglian nobles who had gone to him for instruction, swept off by the terrible plague, whereupon Tunberht and his protégé, Ceolfrid, and not a few others of their brethren, were invited by Bishop Wilfrid to take up their residence at his recently enlarged monastery of Ripon. Presently Ceolfrid was duly ordained priest there, Wilfrid being then about twenty-seven years old. In order further to educate himself for his vocation, he went to Canterbury, the *Alma Mater* of English Christianity. We are told he also went to visit East Anglia to study the régime of St. Botulf at Ikanhoe,[3] where the ideal monkish life was carried out with due austerity. It was rigidly shared by the high-born Northumbrian who now went there. Bede, who after-

[1] *Anon. Hist. Abb.*, 34. [2] *Vide ante*, i. 219. [3] *Ib.* i. 136.

wards became his pupil, speaks of him as at that time filling the post of baker (*pistor*) of the establishment, in the duties of which office he was as diligent as in more serious matters.[1] "While heating the oven and preparing the loaves, he used mentally to repeat and perfect himself in the ceremonial acts of the priesthood."[2] Having thus greatly widened his views and knowledge, he returned to Ripon. No one at that time was reputed to be more learned in ecclesiastical and monastic lore than he. He was further noted for his gentle urbanity and humility.

At Ripon, Ceolfrid's high birth and devotion secured him the position of prior. It has been argued that the word at that time had not its technical sense of later times, but merely meant the second after the abbot.

Benedict, who was his relative, and was no doubt well acquainted with his character, persuaded him, with Wilfrid's consent, to join him as prior in the arduous duties of starting the new monastery on the Wear. Montalembert remarks on this incident that it is the sole evidence which exists of any intercourse between Wilfrid and Benedict after they were boys.

[1] *Anon. Hist. Abb.*

[2] Dr. Bright (308, note 4) aptly reminds us that the well-born monks of this period were not above engaging in menial employments; he quotes the "wicked" monk described by Bede (*Bede*, v. 14), who was a skilful carpenter. St. Columba had a Saxon as a baker at Iona (Adamnan, *Vit. Col.*, iii. 10). St. Boniface mentions how St. Sturmi acted as cook, while Bernardus built the small cells for the monks (*Ep.* 69). St. Sturmi, remembering that different occupations should be practised in a monastery, set some of his monks to dig a new channel for the river Fulda (*Vit. Sturmii*, 20).

Benedict and Ceolfrid proceeded to build the church, the monks being meanwhile, no doubt, accommodated in not very comfortable wattled huts. As some of them had come from luxurious homes they proved difficult and restive under the pressure of their new life and its hard conditions (*nam et invidias quorundam nobilium*).[1]

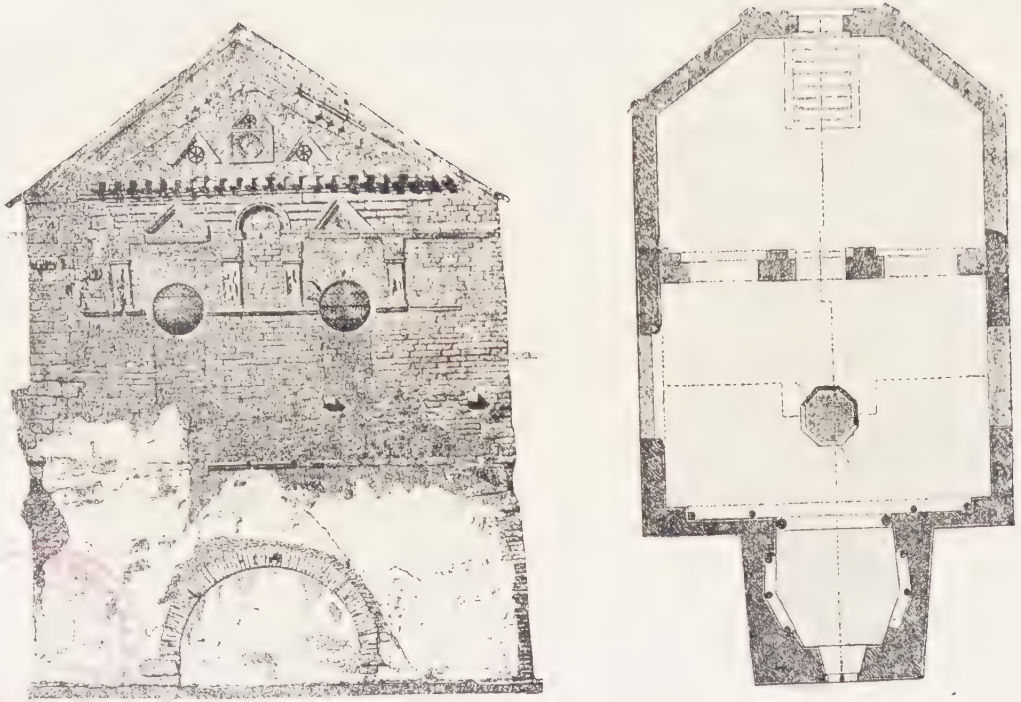
So vexatious did Ceolfrid find them that he gave up the task as hopeless, and went back to Ripon, but Benedict persuaded him to return.

The actual buildings having after two years been finished, Benedict set out for France on a visit to Abbot Torthelm, who was his friend, and doubtless a Northumbrian, to ask him for some skilled workmen (*architectus*) to undertake the more ornate and artistic parts of the work.

Inasmuch as the remains (except buildings) dating from this period are so scanty in England, I propose to illustrate the state of the ecclesiastical arts at this period from French sources.

The period covered by the domicile of Benedict Biscop in the Frankish Empire was marked by the first revival of Christian art there after the invasion of the Northern tribes. In regard to the literary records about its architecture, our supply is sadly scanty. Gregory of Tours, in speaking of Agricola, Bishop of Châlons, who lived in the last quarter of the sixth century, says he erected many buildings in the city, and, *inter alia*, a church supported by columns, decorated with various marbles and with mosaics.[2]

[1] *Anon. Hist. Abb.*, par. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* v. ch. 46.



EXTERIOR AND GROUND PLAN OF THE SEVENTH-CENTURY BAPTISTERY AT POICTIERS.

[*Vol. II., facing p.* 258.

The monastery of Solignac was founded in 622 by St. Ouen. The friend and biographer of the founder, St. Eloi, who visited it soon after its foundation, says of it: "This monastery is surrounded by a circular cloister not made of stone, but rather a mound and ditch nearly ten stadia in circumference. On one side it has a large river, which is commanded by a high mountain covered with wood and with rocks. The abbey is surrounded with orchards of different kinds of fruits. . . . I observed how strict was the observance of the Rule, which was only exceeded by the practice at Luxeuil (*i.e.* under the very stringent regulations of Columbanus). There were men of all conditions there, and among them many artificers skilled in various arts (*sunt et ibi artifices plurimi diversarum artium periti*).[1]

Turning from the literature to the actual remains of buildings in the land of the Franks at this date, I shall borrow a few paragraphs from Professor Baldwin Brown's excellent monograph on Anglo-Saxon architecture. He has convinced me that M. Enlart and the other French authorities have had a tendency to post-date their early documents of this kind. The following passage from his book seems to me to be a very sound summing up of the case. He says:—

"The architecture of the Frankish realm had an existence before the time of Charles the Great, though it is impossible to date its early monuments with any assurance. There is a class of these

[1] *Vit. St. Eloi*, 1.

monuments, however, that have remarkable and early-looking peculiarities of technical treatment. They appear on the whole to be Carlovingian, and they exhibit a modification of Roman technique in a direction corresponding to Merovingian times. They are built on a Roman method, with core and facing, and exhibit the so-called *petit appareil* of Gallo-Roman monuments, in which the facing stones are of the small square Roman shape, and are often seamed with lines of brick. The curious St. Jean at Poitiers, and the church of Vieux-pont-en-Auge, near Mézidon, in Normandy, are good examples." Professor Brown remarks on "the striking difference between these churches and the later Carlovingian work in western Germany as evidence against M. Enlart's contention in favour of a later date. The special peculiarity of the class of buildings in question is the diversifying of the facing by a studied mosaic in which brick patterns are formed by zigzags, hexagons, herring-bone work, stars, etc. The best examples of this work are at Cravant, near Chinon, on the Vienne; St. Cristophe, Suèvres; Savenières, and especially the so-called Clara-Thurm, at Cologne, almost the only bit of præ-Romanesque building now visible in that ancient city. The work is only the extension of the Roman fashion of facing with '*opus reticulatum*' herring-bone work, and the like, and its elaboration corresponds to the sumptuousness in personal attire and accoutrements that characterised the Merovingian princes and nobles.

Interior of the Seventh-Century Baptistery at Poictiers.

[Vol. II., facing p. 260

"This mosaic-like distribution of facing-stones, in of course less pretentious forms, is familiar in Norman architecture, and the south-west of the infirmary cloister at Westminster shows an early example of it in English Norman building. It hardly occurs, however, in the Austrasian province, save in the already-quoted cases of the Clara-Thurm at Cologne, and one other Rhineland building of peculiar historical importance.

"This is the entrance-gate house to the cloister of Lorsch, between Worms and the Odenwald, which has recently been made the subject of a careful monograph by R. Adamy,[1] which throws a welcome light upon its origin and character. The arguments there urged appear satisfactorily to fix the date of this notable little monument to about thirty years earlier than Charles the Great's minster at Aachen, or about 764 to 774 A.D. It was built under the auspices of a brother of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, the author of the Canonical Rule, and with the help of monks transferred to Lorsch from a convent near Metz, from the neighbourhood of which city, part of the material of the structure was conveyed. It is therefore not an architectural product of its own locality, but really belongs to the region west of the Rhine, and thus falls into line with the other mosaic-faced structures of the Neustrian province. . . . It is no exception to the rule that

[1] *Die Fränk. Thorhalle und Klosterkirche zu Lorsch* (Darmstadt, 1891).

ornamental-facing treatment of stone work belongs to the western province of the Frankish Empire. Neither in the minster at Aachen nor in any other genuine Carlovingian structure, such as the basilica of Eginhardt at Michelstadt, in the Odenwald, do we find this ornamental facing, nor is it a feature in Saxon or Westphalian architecture. It is a non-German peculiarity, and it does not occur in Anglo-Saxon architecture save in one or two examples of herring-bone work, of which the most remarkable is found in the interior of Diddlebury Church, Shropshire.

"The presence or absence of classical core-and-facing technique forms, then, the first point of difference between the western and eastern provinces of the original Frankish Empire."[1]

Let us now turn from architecture to other crafts necessary for the adornment and proper furnishing of churches. At this time, as for long after, the country of Limoges was the centre and focus of French industrial art, and notably of ecclesiastical art. It was there the art of enamelling, as well as that of the jeweller, especially flourished. Among its rough mountains and valleys there grew up a great number of rich monasteries, and it was the home of a marvellous galaxy of "saints." In the days of its glory the province possessed one hundred and forty such establishments, and nine hundred and sixty-four

[1] Brown, *op. cit.* ii. 49, 50.

parishes, besides chapels, hospitals, etc. etc., each of them with its treasures of art. The great Abbey of Grandmont may be selected as an example. Although many times pillaged, it possessed in 1787 more than fifty ancient reliquaries, for the most part enamelled, forty pieces of jewellery in gold and silver, three tombs made of copper and enamelled, a huge altar, and a splendid ciborium. It was specially the cult of relics which caused a demand for these objects of silver and bejewelled plate. To show how it prevailed at one time in this district, it will be interesting to remember that fifty-two parishes then owed their foundation to having been the places of deposit of bodies of saints removed thither from their original burial-places. The cult was especially encouraged, when it became the fashion periodically to gather great crowds at stated intervals for the especial exposure and adoration of particular relics, which were exhibited in splendid receptacles. The possession by one church there of the famous reliquary in the shape of a bust containing the head of St. Martial, which was exhibited septennially, gave a great impetus to the practice. We must not forget that the fifth Council of Carthage prescribed the destruction of altars which did not contain relics, and several Roman writers have agreed that their presence was necessary for the validity of the consecration of the Elements.[1]

The most famous early artists of Limoges were

[1] Durand, *de Ritibus Ecclesiae*, p. 68.

St. Elogius, or St. Eloi, as the French call him, his master, St. Abbon, and his scholar, Thillo (known later as St. Theau), who flourished in the seventh century. Abbon was a renowned jeweller of Limoges who, like others of the craft, were moneyers as well as goldsmiths; in fact, the art of the latter developed out of the former. It was his pupil Eloi, however, whose name became so famous at that time and remains so still. His art, no doubt, brought him great profit, for we are told that while still a layman he founded and built the Abbey of Solignac, near Limoges, besides numerous churches. Having travelled into the country of "Francia," *i.e.* north of the Loire, he made the acquaintance of Bobon, the treasurer of Chlothaire the Second, for whom he made a golden throne decorated with jewels, and two chairs.

In 640 he was ordained a priest, and was appointed Bishop of Noyon, and also became famous for his zeal in converting the semi-heathen lands in his neighbourhood and especially that of the Friesians. It is as *the* incomparable artist of his time, however, that he is chiefly known. His biographer, St. Ouen, tells us that among other of his remarkable works were a large number of *chasses* or reliquaries (*thecas sive tumbas*), of gold, silver, and precious stones, *e.g.* those of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, of Severin, Abbot of Agaune, of Piaton, priest and martyr, of Quintin, of Lucian (the apostle of Beauvais), of Geneviève, of Columbus, Maximinian, Julian, Saint Brice, and

many others, but the most precious of all was the chasse of the bishop-historian St. Gregory of Tours, of which King Dagobert bore the cost, and which was made of gold and precious stones.[1] Dagobert also employed St. Eloi to decorate the Church of St. Denis, and he covered the tomb of that Saint with a canopy or roof of admirably worked marble ornamented with gold and precious stones, and on it a crest of leafage and fruit made in gold. Among the objects attributed to St. Eloi at the time of the Revolution were:—(1) The famous ivory chair of Dagobert, the throne on which the French kings were crowned (so well known from illustrations).[2] (2) A golden cross enriched with stones and enamels, the size of a man, which was formerly behind the high altar at St. Denis. (3) A cross, at St. Victor, at Paris. (4) A great cross at Notre Dame, at Paris, worked in gold filigree, and presented by the Duc de Berri in 1466. (5) A chalice at St. Loup, at Noyon, used for communicating the sick. (6) A magnificent silver bust at Brives la Gaillarde, containing the relics of St. Martin, who was patron of the town. (7) A chalice and a cross at Chatelac, the birthplace of St. Eloi. (8) Two crosses at Grandmont. (9) The cross of St. Martin les Limosges. (10) A censer with its supports at St. Martin de Saumur. (11) A rock-crystal cup orna-

[1] *Life of St. Eloi*, quoted by Migne, *Dict. d'orf. Chrétienne*, 936, etc.

[2] Lenormant wrote a famous memoir on the chair, and showed that its lower part was really the work of St. Eloi and not, as some supposed, part of a Roman curule chair. The chair was restored in later times by Suger (Texier, Migne, *op. cit.* 657).

mented with engraved precious stones, inscribed "*Lotharius* (perhaps Chlotarius), *rex Francorum me fieri jussit.*" This was in the Benedictine Abbey of Vaser. (12) Two chandeliers in the Cathedral of Limoges, mentioned in a chartulary of 1365 (*duo candelabra Sancti Elogii*). (13) The gold mount of a small cup of chrysolite of the colour of sea-water, inlaid with sapphires, garnets, emeralds, and sixty oriental pearls. This was at St. Denis, and was greatly praised by Suger in the work he wrote on his own administration. Suger flourished in the twelfth century. (14) Two diptychs (so called in the inventory of September 11, 1420) at St. Croix de Poitiers.

This list of objects, if it could be implicitly relied upon, would prove the proficiency of St. Eloi in all the arts of the goldsmith and the engraver, the founder and chaser, the jeweller and the lapidary. We can only accept it as largely traditional, but some items are supported by considerable probabilities. Thus the theory of St. Eloi having employed the art of enamelling is supported by the circumstance that in 1724 Martene and Durand saw in the Abbey of Chelles, alongside of the reliquary containing the head of that Saint himself, a chalice of gold decorated with enamel, which tradition declared had been made by him for Queen Bathildis. The cup was half a foot in diameter, and it was noticed by them that chalices of this type went back to the time when the Communion was partaken in both kinds, which generally ceased in the ninth century. The silver

bust of St. Martin at Brives which still exists was, according to Desmarest, already in existence in the year 900, for a document of that date is sealed with a seal of the town, which then bore a bust of St. Martin exactly like that on the existing reliquary, instead of the later coat, which has on it three grains of wheat arranged like a fleur-de-lis, while the execution of the cup is precisely that of the time of St. Eloi. The Abbé Texier, author of the article on the history of jewellery in Migne's *Dictionary of Christian Art*, to which I am indebted for this account, suggests that a large number of what are described by the old authors as precious stones, were really imitations made in opaque and coloured glass, *i.e.* in enamel. That the art of enamelling was then practised in the West is clear from the inscription on the still-existing crown of Agilulf, King of the Lombards, who was reigning in the year 600, which is decorated with encrusted enamels in blue. The author just cited, in speaking of the filigree work on the crosses attributed to St. Eloi, remarks on the extraordinary continuity of the technique in this kind of work from the sixth century until recent times, and attributes it to the simplicity of the ornaments; thus he says: "*ces treillis à volutes et à circonvolutions, semés de distance en distance de points circulaires, n'ont pas toujours des caractères precis et distincts qui puissent faire reconnaître leur âge. . . . On s'expliquera cette identité de formes par l'emploi d'une courbe élémentaire; le cercle en repos ou en*

mouvement a fait presque tous les frais de ces décorations." It is at all events remarkable that both the crosses of St. Denis and of Grandmont which are attributed to St. Eloi should be worked in filigree.[1]

In addition to being a jeweller, St. Eloi was also a moneyer, and his name occurs as such on coins of Kings Dagobert and Clothaire II. Texier remarks on the rude character of the heads on these coins contrasted with the beauty of the ornamentation.[2]

St. Eloi was not only a great artist himself, but was also the founder of a great school of artificers at Limoges, and some of their names have been preserved on the coins, for they were both moneyers and goldsmiths. Among these are Ascairico, Maurus, Saturnus, Leodulco, Autharius, Tanionilo. One of St. Eloi's assistants is especially recorded. He was called Thillo and became a Saint (St. Theau). The Abbey of Solignac, founded by St. Eloi, became famous for its school of artificers.

As in Roman times, the class of goldsmiths was recruited largely from humble people, and it was only rarely that one secured such powerful patrons as Clothaire II. and Dagobert. Thus the second capitulary of King Dagobert, cap. 79, fixes the composition for the murder of a goldsmith who had given public proof of his status at forty shillings, the same as for the murder of a cook or of a shepherd having an assistant pig-driver who looked after forty

[1] Migne, *op. cit.* 940. [2] Migne, *op. cit.* 935.

pigs, and who kept a trained dog (*canem doctum*), a horn, and a servant.[1]

Limoges was also a famous centre of glass-making, and as early as the fifth century Bishop Roric of Limoges commended to his friends his glass-maker and his painter.[2] In regard to window glass, Venantius Fortunatus, writing about 569, in apostrophising the windows of a church at Paris, writes :—

> "Prima capit radios vitreis oculata fenestris
> Artificisque manu clausit in arce diem."[3]

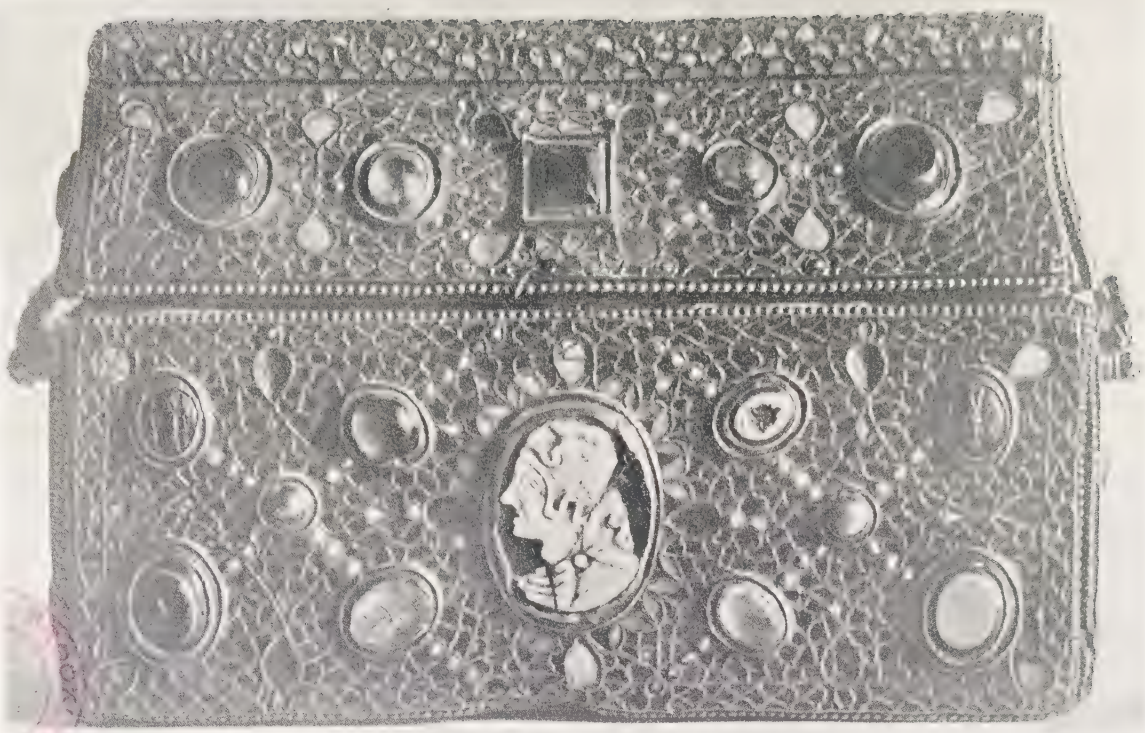
This window glass was probably white and not coloured. At all events, it was not figured-glass, and if coloured, formed a kind of mosaic pattern.

It is a desolating thought to remember what a small proportion of the magnificent church furniture and jewellery of the date we are dealing with has survived to our time in France and Germany. The fact that the gold and silver objects were so largely encrusted with precious stones made them the natural prey of different forms of destruction. The French Revolution was in popular eyes the great iconoclast in France, as the Cromwellian régime is similarly supposed to have been in England, but a large part of the mischief was no doubt due to the continual tendency of the art of one generation to destroy the works of another, and especially was this the case when the intrinsic value of the

[1] *Id.* 932, note 410.
[2] *Ep. Rur. Senior.*
[3] *Ed. F. Leo.*, i. 40.
[4] *Ib.* p. 954, note 407.

materials was so great and so dear, and it was so easy to style the primitive work "barbarous" or "Gothic" (the earliest meaning of which was indeed "barbarous"). A number of early pieces remain, notwithstanding, in various churches in France. Two very notable ones, perhaps the work of St. Eloi himself, have been recently illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxi. pp. 258, etc., by my versatile and accomplished friend, Sir Martin Conway. They are contained in the treasury of the little church of St. Maurice d'Agaune, about half-way between Villeneuve and Martigny, and on the desert road by which the mediæval pilgrims to Rome passed over the Great St. Bernard and paid toll at the shrine of the Theban legion at St. Maurice. Two of the many objects of great price preserved there, which were virtually unknown until quite recent years, belong to the period and to the school of artificers we have been writing about, and so far as I know are unmatched. I will borrow my friend's admirable description of them :—

"I suppose everybody would say that the 'vase of St. Martin,' the splendid Roman sardonyx jug in its seventh-century setting of gold, jewels, and pastes, is the notable object in the collection. Round the belly of the jug is carved a figure-subject so variously interpreted that the intended meaning is of no interest, the artist having failed to convey it. St. Martin's jug is enhanced by a very early Bergundian (?) setting, in style like the work of the goldsmiths of the old Teutonic people who flooded



Seventh-Century Merovingian Chasse of the School of St. Eloi.

[*Vol. II., facing p.* ; .

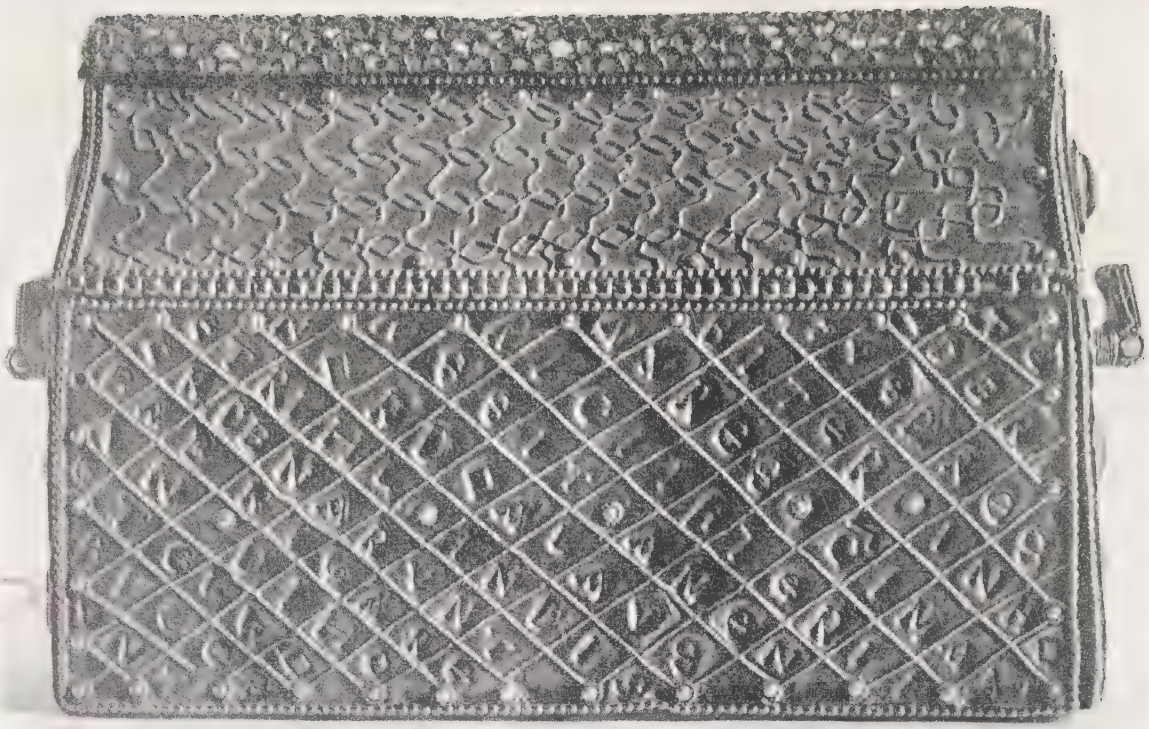
Europe. The handle of the jug is broken, and the lid smothered in wax sealed up in the eleventh century.

"Next we have a Merovingian chasse, gilt, bejewelled, enamelled, and inlaid, which is as wonderful a display of gorgeous colour as ever the western sky exhibited over the horizon even of Araby the blessed. It is brick-shaped, with a roof of double slope and a rounded crest all along, and there are a couple of handles at the ends and a big false cameo in the middle of the front. No design could be simpler. The ground is all covered with gilt cells in which are pastes, red for the most part, but with grain-shaped ones of blue or green. It sounds ordinary enough, yet of all the splendid works of goldsmith and jeweller that I ever saw, this most overwhelms the eye with an astonishing flash of splendour when first beheld. Time has mellowed all its forms and colours, rounded its angles and inflicted a picturesque wound here and there. Beside this noble creation even Romanesque seems poor and Gothic turns to trash. The back is chequered with filigree threads, and has an inscription. The big false cameo has been shown by M. Mély to have been cleverly made by a glass-worker, the various details having been applied by means of the blowpipe, being, in fact, formed of a white enamel. It was not cut with the wheel at all. In regard to the handles, when they hang pendent they display their unadorned faces to the view. It is only when they are balanced upwards that their inlaid faces are seen. They were attachments for the

ends of a strap. The chasse was, in fact, intended to be carried about, and the strap was to go over the shoulders and behind the neck of the person carrying it. Another portable reliquary of this type, also of the seventh century, is in the church of St. Bonnet d'Avalouze (Corrèze)."

I have thought it right to give some space to a description of these treasures in order to let my readers understand the kind of splendid objects which were being made in the seventh century, and which, no doubt, were of the type brought home by those two rich men, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, who would certainly have "the best" with which to adorn their splendid churches. Unfortunately we have none of these objects remaining in England, and are obliged therefore to illustrate them by similar examples from France, whither, as Bede says, Benedict went for his artificers and for works of art.

Returning again to Wearmouth. The completion of the church was so rapid that in less than a year it was ready to receive its more fragile ornaments, and Benedict sent messengers (*misit legatarios*) to France for makers of glass to glaze the windows of the church, cloister, and refectory. (The glass inserted a short time before in the windows at York by Wilfrid was doubtless also brought from France.) These foreign workmen, when they arrived, not only made glass themselves, but taught Englishmen the craft. They also made lamps for the churches and various kinds of vessels—all of which were required for the altars and services. Benedict



Seventh-Century Merovingian Chasse of the School of St. Eloi.

also secured embroideries and vestments, which could not be obtained at home.[1] Dr. Bright says: "It must have been a stirring time at Wearmouth while the works were in progress, and new products of foreign art were continually coming in." I shall postpone an account of the remains of Benedict's architectural work at Wearmouth till I tell the story of Jarrow later on. Having finished his first monastery and established a Rule there, he set out on another journey to Rome, to secure those necessary things for his new foundation which he could not obtain in Gaul, and especially a suitable collection of books, with a large gathering of reputed relics of apostles and martyrs, "which," says Bede, "proved profitable to many a church in England."[2]

[1] *Hist. Abb.*, 5.

[2] The continued anxiety to obtain relics and the effect of their extravagant cult at this time tempt me to borrow another interesting passage from the article already quoted by my friend, Sir Martin Conway (see *Burlington Fine Arts Magazine*, vol. xxi. 263). "On the great St. Bernard route at St. Maurice d'Agaune was the reputed place where the famous Theban legion, consisting chiefly of Christians and commanded by St. Maurice, mutinied and was put to the sword in 302 A.D., thus creating a great company of martyrs who were buried together there. The abbey greatly flourished on account of its great "capital" in relics, and it went into the business of selling them on a great scale. The monks there were universally believed to possess the skeletons of more than six thousand authentic martyrs of a fine and valued period. They were ready to part, not only with a single bone, but a full-sized legionary for suitable consideration. Thus they supplied relics for the sanctification of many churches dedicated to St. Maurice. The abbey also did a large business in bartering them for other relics. One such exchange is fully authenticated, and the exchange took place with no less a person than St. Louis. Abbot Girold gave that King the bones of twenty-seven or thirty complete martyred legionaries, and received in return one thorn (in a charming reliquary) from the Crown of thorns. This exchange is authenticated

Thirdly, Benedict brought back with him, by the consent of the Pope, John the arch-chanter of St. Peter's at Rome, that he might teach in his monastery the method of singing throughout the year (*cursum canendi annuum*), as it was practised at St. Peter's. He duly taught Benedict's singing-men and boys (*praefati monasterii cantores*). Among them was Bede himself, who had joined the monastery at the age of seven. They learnt the order of singing and reading *viva voce*, and also committed to writing all that was requisite for the celebration of festivals during the whole year, all of which continued to be observed in the said monastery and was copied by many others elsewhere. John did not merely confine himself to teaching those in the monastery, but such as had skill in singing resorted to him from well-nigh all the province.[1]

Bede further tells us that when he went to England John the Chanter took with him a copy of the decision of the Roman Synod of Pope Martin, and the one hundred and five bishops, and gave it to be transcribed in St. Benedict's monastery.[2] He had

by a letter from the King still preserved at St. Maurice. Louis had obtained the alleged Crown of thorns in 1247, from Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, with other relics and treasures, and it was for them he built the Saint Chapelle. He afterwards detached sixteen of the thorns to exchange for other relics, and the names of the various churches with which he bartered them are extant." I should like to add that one of the thorns in its original splendid mounting found its way to the British Museum, by the munificence of Mr. Salting; it is set in gold, decorated with lovely translucent enamel, which is enclosed in a case containing a big amethyst on each cover.

[1] *Bede*, iv. 18.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 18.

filled the office of abbot of St. Martin's at Rome, and on his way hither he had gone round by Tours to visit the famous city of St. Martin. There he was kindly entertained by the brethren in the guest-house (*hospitio*), and some of them apparently accompanied him to England to assist him. They had entreated him once more to pass their way and renew his visit on his return home. He, however, fell ill soon after crossing the sea and died, and his body was ("for the love of St. Martin," his own patron) taken to Tours and there buried.[1]

Returning to Benedict, we are told by Bede that on leaving Rome he obtained from the Pope a charter of privileges, supported by apostolical authority. This was afterwards confirmed at an English synod by the Northumbrian King and his bishops.

Lastly, he brought with him paintings of sacred subjects for his new church, among them a representation of "the blessed mother of God and ever Virgin Mary" (*beatae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae*), with others of the twelve apostles, which were meant to girdle the centre of the apse (*mediam ejusdem ecclesiae testudinem*), a boarding having been run round from wall to wall (*ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato*). Besides these, there was a series of pictures from the Gospel history with which to decorate the southern wall of the church. The north wall was adorned with scenes from the Apocalypse. All this was intended

[1] *Bede*, iv. 18.

for "the edification of those who entered the church and were ignorant of letters."[1]

Bright has a picturesque passage about the early inmates of the new monastery in addition to Benedict and Ceolfrid, which I am tempted to quote. "Among them," he says, "we see a young man of twenty-four, strong and handsome, with 'a sweet voice and a cheerful temper,' taking pleasure in sharing the commonest labours with his fellow-monks, at work in kitchen or garden or bakehouse, threshing or winnowing or milking the cattle, who yet, like his cousin the foster-abbot, had been a king's thane (minister). His name was Eosterwyn. A third brother, who, like these two, *i.e.* Ceolfrid and Eosterwyn, attained to the highest dignity in the house, was a deacon named Sigfrid, who is described as pre-eminently intent on scriptural studies, but amid them had had to bear the burden of weak health, so that, as Bede quaintly says, his efforts to keep innocency of heart were carried on under pressure of an incurable affection of the lungs (*incurabilis pulmonum vitio*)."[2] It is difficult to realise and to exaggerate the importance of this foundation by the Wear, with its sister close by at Jarrow (to be presently mentioned), in beaconing the steps of the English Church, especially in the North, where its light burnt so brightly during the next half-century, and produced so many men of character and goodness and learning. It is not to be wondered at that the place and its life

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 6. [2] *Ib.* 10.

touched the deepest springs of a simple race recently emerged from paganism, and filled them with ardour and with yearnings for a more ideal life. Its abbot, Benedict, of whom it is pitiful that so little is really known, must have been a very remarkable personage. He had lived many years abroad among the most learned and gifted men then existing. He had, no doubt, become a very proficient as he was a very eager scholar, knowing and speaking Latin and rustic French probably as well as he did English. King Ecgfrid was so delighted with him and his work, that he made him a second gift of land, consisting of forty hides, or sufficient to maintain forty families. It was situated at the mouth of the Wear near the Tyne, and called "in Gyrvum," *i.e.* Jarrow. A year later Benedict planted seventeen monks under the care of the abbot and priest Ceolfrid there. Ceolfrid, after consulting his friend and master and by the command of King Ecgfrid, built a second monastery dedicated to St. Paul, and Benedict expressed the hope that the two foundations would continue to live side by side in mutual peace and affection.

We will now turn to face the not very easy task of describing the too scanty remains of Benedict's churches, which fill such a notable place in the history of the arts in England. Before I describe their actual remains and the problems which they raise, it will be well shortly to trace the vicissitudes of their later history.

Benedict's two churches, with the similar one at Escomb, lived on in all their attractive beauty until the terrible invasion of the Danes in 867 laid them waste, with well-nigh every other ecclesiastical foundation in Northumbria. In this forlorn condition they remained for over two hundred years. According to Symeon of Durham (who was nearly a contemporary), and about the year 1075 a priest named Aldwin, who was also prior of Wincelcumbe (*i.e.* Winchcombe), having learnt that once upon a time Northumbria was crowded with quires of monks and with saints, and that these monasteries were now lying waste, desired to visit them and to live a solitary life there. He first went to Evesham, where he persuaded two of the brothers to join him, of whom one was a deacon called Alfwin, afterwards a priest, and the other an unlearned man named Reinfred. The three monks set out on foot, taking with them a single ass (*unum asellum, secum ducentes*) to carry the necessary books and vestments. They first went to Munecaceastre, *i.e.* the town of the monks (now, says Symeon, called "New Castle, on the northern bank of the Tyne").[1] The place belonged to the Bishop of Durham, but was subject to the jurisdiction of the Earl of Northumberland. Bishop Walcher sent to invite the strangers to Durham, preferring that they should live under the rule of the Church rather than that of the secular power. He gave them the monastery of "the blessed Paul the Apostle"

[1] *Op. cit.*; *Hist. Dun. Eccl.*, iii. 21; and *Hist. Reg.*, par. 161.

built by Benedict, formerly an abbot at Jarrow (*in Gyrvum*), the walls of which were still standing, but without any roof or sign of ancient grandeur. Thereupon they put a roof on it made of rude timbers and thatch (*de lignis informibus et foeno superponentes*), and began to perform divine service there. They then built themselves a hut (*casula*) under the walls of the church, where they slept and ate and lived a life of poverty on the alms of the religious. Attracted by their example, many others adopted the cowl, and gave themselves to the regular discipline of Christ. Some were from Northumbria, but a greater number from southern England. The bishop greatly encouraged them, and, seeing that they wished to restore the church and to revive the monkish life, gave them the town of Jarrow with its appurtenances, which are duly enumerated. This was the initial movement in the restoration of the northern monasteries; Whitby and York were the next to be restored; an attempt to restore Melrose was frustrated by the Scottish King, to whom it then belonged. Soon after Walcher recalled the strangers to Durham, and Symeon says he gave them as a residence the monastery of St. Peter at Wearmouth, the dwelling-place of Bede from childhood, once so comely and noble, but then in a state of ruin. "There they made themselves a small dwelling of wattles (*de virgis facientes habitacula*) and began to practise the austere life. The bishop endowed the place with the town of Wearmouth, and monks began to

gather there from all parts of England. At that time the walls alone, of the Church of St. Peter, were standing in a semi-ruinous condition (*soli parietes semiruti steterunt*). They cut down the trees and tore up the branches and thorns which occupied the ground (which they duly purified), and then put a roof on the church, *as may now be seen.*" Symeon concludes with the words: "From the time when the pagans overthrew the churches in the province of the Northumbrians and the monasteries were destroyed and burnt, until the monks under Aldwin again took possession of them, were two hundred and eight years."[1]

It was necessary to quote this rather long passage from Symeon as it stands, for upon it rest two important conclusions in regard to the churches we are dealing with. In the first place, it is plain that there was no important alteration or rebuilding made in them from the time of their destruction by the Danes until the end of the eleventh century; and, secondly, what was done then, was merely putting rough roofs on them to exclude the weather, with such restoration of the walls as was necessary to make them weather-proof, and that whatever parts of the buildings date from Saxon times must be older than the year 867.

Let us now turn to what remains of the churches themselves.

In describing the technical details of the buildings, I shall, as I have done before, rely on my

[1] *Op. cit.*; *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. ch. 23.

CHURCH AT MONKWEARMOUTH, WEST WALL AND TOWER.

friends who are more practised in such descriptions, and to whom I am indebted for the latest lights on the subject.

At Wearmouth, says Micklethwaite: "The church is now for the most part modern, but there remain of Saxon work the west wall of the nave and the tower. In 1866 the foundation walls of the nave were opened out. The church had a long and proportionately narrow nave without aisles and a west porch with four openings carried up later as a tower. In 1884 I was able to find the remains of the side walls of the baptistery west of the tower, but, except the two small doorways which led to them, nothing of the covered ways of the forecourt remained. The whole of this forebuilding, which is one of the most remarkable relics of early work in England, is arranged exactly like that at Brixworth, where it stands in front of a church of the Italian basilican form, but at Wearmouth we have a church entirely different and one which belongs to another tradition, derived from Ireland, and called in the seventh century, Scottish. The Italian and Scottish traditions meet thus early here, and stand side by side, but have yet scarcely begun to unite."[1]

Professor Baldwin Brown says: "The technique is rubble work of rudely squared stones, and at the corners the stones are larger and more carefully squared and fitted, but there is no 'long and short work' or big stone quoining: the nave is about 65 feet long by a width of nearly 19 feet.

[1] *Arch. Journal*, liii. 308–9.

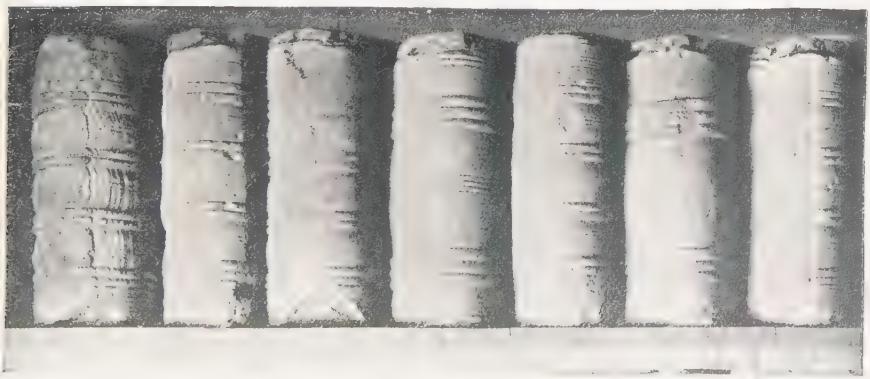
The west wall of the nave is original and about 2 feet in thickness. The height of the west wall externally is 131 feet to the beginning of the slope of the gable, which ran up at an acute angle with the horizontal of about fifty degrees.

"In the centre is an arched doorway 2 feet 6 inches in width, giving admission to the porch which now forms the bottom storey of the tower. This porch is 8 feet from north to south, and 9 feet 5 inches from east to west, and is covered with a barrel-vault running east and west 12 feet 6 inches high to the crown. There are doors to the porch on all four sides; those to the north and south, 2 feet 6 inches wide, have their jambs and heads splayed for doors opening outwards; the east door (also with a rebate) leads into the church. The western archway, 4 feet 10 inches in width, has never had a door and is of extremely elaborate construction, giving its stamp to the whole work. Its jambs are composed of upright slabs lining the opening, surmounted by other slabs laid flat and bonding into the wall. On the surface thus formed there is carved on each side of the doorway an ornament consisting of a pair of serpents intertwined.[1]

"On these slabs, as on a plinth, stand on each side two stone shafts about 21 inches high by 10 inches in diameter, ornamented with an elaborate system of projecting and scooped-out rings arranged

[1] This is described by Mr. Hodges as consisting of two serpentinous animals, each with long bills and fishlike tails, which, after being twisted together, diverge and pass up the angles of the stones (*Reliquary*, vii. 144).

St Peter's, Monkwearmouth, looking West.



Balusters placed Side by Side at Monkwearmouth.

mainly in twos and threes, which have evidently been produced on a lathe. The balusters are of very hard stone. These turned mouldings are far superior in their delicacy and accurate cutting to the general run of them on Saxon baluster shafts. The twin colonnettes carry a massive impost 11 inches high, chamfered beneath and worked on all its edges with a roll moulding. From this springs the arch, formed of nine carefully cut voussoir stones of varying sizes, running right through the thickness of the arch and recessed on both outer and inner face, after the manner of the cornice architrave. The 'arris' between the face and the soffit of the arch is worked into a roll like that on the edge of the imposts.

"Above the arch, at a height of 13 feet 3 inches above the ground, the face of the porch is enriched with a flat string cornice, composed of various panels framed with cable mouldings, and carved in low relief with representations of four-footed animals, and at least one human figure. At a higher level comes a comparatively large window, giving light to a chamber over the porch, the date of which, says Professor Brown, is problematical, as it has in large part been modernised. Above it is a second string course, and from this level, at a height of 21 feet from the ground, began the slope of the original gable that surmounted the porch. Under the apex of this gable there are five large stones let into the wall, the uppermost of which projects like a semi-circular disc set horizontally, while the second shows

the outline and shape of a human head, the tip of the lobe of the left ear being still on a close inspection visible. The two large stones below have been hacked away flush with the wall, and the lowest has evidently been renewed in more modern times. It is clear that there was a statue here in high relief about 6 feet in height, and, as it is placed with reference to the original gable and has about it no marks of being a later insertion, it is presumably original. At this point is the junction of the original work of the vaulted porch with a chamber over it, and the later tower reared upon its walls. On the western side of the tower as it at present stands there are clearly seen the sloping lines of the original gable over the porch, and that the upper part of the tower is a later insertion is further proved by the fact that, to a great extent, it blocks out the light from the two original windows in the western half of the nave. . . . These windows are splayed in the interior only, the aperture for light being 1 foot 8 inches across and the width of the internal splay 2 feet 9 inches, and they have the peculiarity that in the lower part of their jambs underneath the upright slabs that form these jambs there are set baluster shafts of a kind similar to those in the porch, though not so elaborate in execution. They are built firmly into the corners of the jambs and have their bases on a narrow ledge, from which the sloping wall of the window rises at their back. They are the same height as the slope of the sills. The existence of

Carved Ornament on the Door Jamb of the West Door of the Font at Monkwearmouth.

As reconstructed by Bishop Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, *p.* 1

West Door of the Church at Monkwearmouth, showing the Curious Jambs.

Memorial Slab of Hereberht at Monkwearmouth.

[Vol. II., facing p. 214

these shafts was only made known at the restoration of 1866, previous to which the windows were covered up with plaster. It must be assumed that they are in their original position, and were intended as counterparts to the balusters in the external opening of the porch."[1]

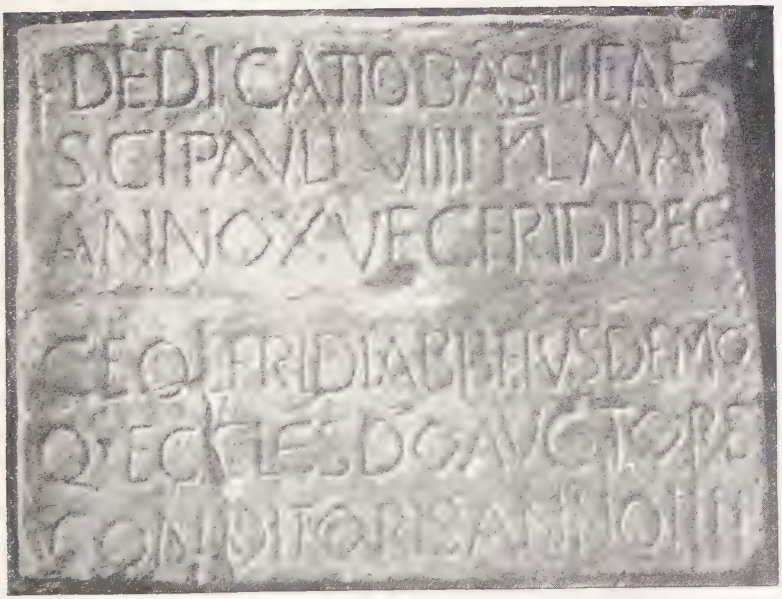
From these facts it is clear, as is in fact undisputed, that the tower is of two dates; the two lower storeys are older than the upper part. With the latter we have nothing to do. The lower part of the tower is clearly of the same date as the Saxon part of the nave, and it seems to me impossible to resist the conclusion that both of them belong to the time of Benedict Biscop. Professor Brown's arguments on the question seem to me unanswerable. After referring to the conditions of poverty existing when Alfwin and his brethren repaired the church in 1075, he says: "The earliest work at Monkwearmouth is marked by extreme care and elaboration in detail. The baluster shafts, the interlaced serpents, the roll mouldings, the gable mouldings, the carved frieze of animals, the big statue on the gable, the balusters in the window jambs, are not everyday work, but represent quite the most extensive collection of carefully wrought details to be found in the whole range of Saxon buildings. It is exactly what we should expect either from the wealthy and enthusiastic Benedict or from one or two of his successors during the flourishing period of the foundation." On the other hand, as the same

[1] *Op. cit.* 141–48.

author remarks, none of the well-known and well-attested special marks of a later age occur, except the fact of the height of the church, which would doubtless have been matched if the great churches built by Wilfrid had survived intact. Of the latter, as we have seen, only the crypts remain.

When the porch was dug out a few years ago a very interesting early tombstone was found far down in it, covering a stone coffin containing human remains. It seems to have had a thin veneer of gesso or plaster, coloured vermilion. Mr. Hodges says there are signs that the part of the inscription after the word "corpora" has been erased in order to substitute the one now there which records a certain Hereberht, and which is written in different and inferior characters. The inscription now reads: "*Hoc in sepulchro requiescat corpus Herebrecht Cht. Prb.*"

Built into the modern vestry is a large collection of stones with sculptures on them, among others many pre-Conquest examples with beautiful interlaced work on them. Also certain curious pieces with a lion's head and body sculptured on two adjoining sides, so that the heads meet at an angle. These the same writer suggests were the capitals or responds of jambs of arches, and if so placed, one animal would decorate the wall plane and the other the soffit plane. There are also eighteen baluster shafts, which with those *in situ* would make twenty-six in all. This is more than have been found elsewhere in one place.



Dedication Stone of Jarrow Church.

[*Vol. II., facing p.* 86.

Let us now turn to Jarrow.

Benedict's and Ceolfrid's church at Jarrow, which was begun by the former and completed by the latter, still contains an inscription referring to its consecration, probably copied from an earlier one. Mr. Plummer gives it from a photograph thus: "☧ DEDICATIO BASILICAE SCI. PAULI VIIII. KL. MAI ANNO XV EGFRIDI REG. CEOLFRIDI ABB. EIUSDEM QQ (*quoque*) ECCLES. DO (*Deo*) AUCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII." Mr. Plummer discusses this date and fixes it, I think, very reasonably, as between April 681 and April 682.[1]

The problem presented by the church at Jarrow is much more intricate than that offered by its sister on the Wear, and has baffled many attempts to solve it. I believe that the solution proposed by Mr. Boyle and my gifted friend C. R. Hodges, the author of a fine monograph on Hexham, is the only one that meets the difficulty. The present church consists of a nave and chancel without transepts united by a tower—that is to say, the tower, instead of being at the west end of the church, as in most Saxon churches, stands at the junction of the nave and chancel.

The nave as it stands is quite new; it was built in 1785 when the previous one was pulled down. What the latter was like can, however, be largely recovered from an old drawing from plans that are extant, and from the description in Hutchinson's *Durham*, written before its destruction. From these

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[1] *Bede*, ii. 361.

Mr. Hodges has put together a lucid reconstruction of the original structure. He says: "The old nave at Jarrow was clearly Benedict's nave with the same disposition of windows at the west end and a similar porch (as may be seen from Buck's view) as at Wearmouth, while the carving of a crozier referred to by Hutchinson as being represented on one of the jambs of the west door, and which was doubtless much decayed, was probably a mistake of his for a representation of some serpentinous animal like that at Wearmouth." There cannot be any doubt, as Hodges urges, that the nave which was pulled down in 1783 represented Benedict's church. When we turn to the east end of that nave we find first a tower and then what has been generally treated as the chancel, which is irregular in form, being twice the length from north to south that it is from east to west, with two belfry windows on the longer faces and only one on the shorter ones. This chancel is substantially an early Saxon work.

On the other hand, the tower which separates it from the nave is a Norman tower from foundation to summit, and built in one style and certainly after 1075. We therefore have to explain the existence of a Norman tower separating a Saxon nave and a so-called Saxon chancel. Nothing can be clearer than that in Benedict's time no true towers existed in churches in England, and no tower therefore could have been planted here.

On turning to the so-called chancel and examining it critically, we shall find that it is unmatched

Exterior of the Church of St. Paul, Jarrow.

in character among all other Saxon churches. In them there is no such thing as a real chancel. Micklethwaite remarked years ago that the Saxons had no chancels in the later meaning of the word, the earlier east ends of their churches were "presbyteries," and the quire of the singers, when it existed, was formed within the eastern part of the nave. The fact is, the so-called chancel at Jarrow is a second nave. This is what Mr. Boyle and Mr. Hodges have seen, and they have naturally concluded that two naves in one line meant two churches. Once this is realised, the whole matter becomes plain. The east end of each church has been obviously truncated and cut off, and both are imperfect at their east ends. This would have long ago been noticed but for the intrusion of the Norman tower, which has confused the matter. At the east end of Benedict's nave, as Mr. Hodges agrees, there was once a shallow square presbytery, which was usual in early Saxon churches. This did not extend eastward as far as the site of the present tower. An interval, in fact, separated this presbytery of the larger church from the west end of the smaller church (the present chancel). That smaller church (the present so-called chancel) also had a short square presbytery. It is represented by two straight lines in the east wall, and is further shown by two panels on the east wall equidistant from the north and south angles, from which foundations can be traced eastwards. On the other hand, at the west end of this smaller

church, *i.e.* of the existing chancel, there is the foundation of a wall just to the east of the tower, which, taken in conjunction with the joints where the tower and chancel join, and the large angle quoins at the same place which were only discovered in 1866 when the nave of 1783 was rebuilt,[1] make the conclusion clear. The induction is perfect, and it seems plain that in early Saxon times, probably in Benedict's lifetime, there were two churches at Jarrow in one line separated by an interval—the smaller one, situated to the east of the larger one, perhaps for the monks, and the other for the lay people. Mr. Hodges very aptly recalls several cases of similar duplication and triplication of churches. Bede himself mentions three churches at Wearmouth, two dedicated respectively to St. Mary and St. Lawrence. There were three at Hexham, two of them very near together; at Holy Island the monastic and parish churches are close together, and the clusters of small churches on the early Irish and Scotch sacred sites are well known.[2]

When in 1075 the monks from Evesham settled at Jarrow they found two unused desolate churches near one another and in one line. They very sensibly built a tower to hold their bells, in the vacant space between them; such towers had then become almost essentials of churches, and as this one did not entirely fill the gap, they took down the remains of the early presbytery of the larger church and extended the side walls of the old nave till they

[1] *Reliquary*, p. 154. [2] *Ib.*, 1893, p. 155.

Interior of the South Wall, Jarrow.

Bede's Chair at Jarrow.

abutted against their new tower. They similarly took down the porch at the west end of the smaller church and tied on the walls of the nave to the opposite side of the tower, and thus secured one church with a long aisleless nave, and a long chancel and a tower in between. This tower they supported by four arches, two open to the church and two closed, with doors communicating with the monastic buildings.

We will now say a few words about the details of these churches. The old nave of the larger church, as I said, was swept away in 1783; Hutchinson, who had seen it before it was moved, tells us that it was 78 feet long and 18 feet wide. Some of its windows were round-headed and some pointed, the former doubtless the handiwork of Benedict. When the nave of 1783 was not long ago itself pulled down, there were found embedded in its walls twenty-one baluster shafts. These shafts, like the similar ones at Wearmouth, had probably been placed on each side of the window openings as an ornament, as similar ones were in the latter place put on each side of the porch door, thus making, as we should expect, the larger church at Jarrow a replica of that at Wearmouth. This probably extended to the curiously interlaced serpents which still exist on the porch door built at Wearmouth, and the meaning of which Hutchinson probably mistook when he says he saw a crozier carved in the same place at Jarrow.

The present chancel and former nave of the

smaller church at Jarrow is 41 feet long and 15 feet 9 inches wide. Its most interesting features are its early windows, which Hodges attributes to two dates. On the north and south sides alike and near the west end are remains of two windows which resemble so much those in the west wall at Monkwearmouth that they must be of the same date. On the south side are three much smaller windows, also of pre-Conquest date, but later, with their heads cut out of rough stones, instead of with voussoirs, like the others. Two of them are filled in with stone slabs, having irregular openings in them to hold a single piece of glass each. Mr. Longstaff suggests that the holes were so cut to fit such pieces of glass as the builders had by them, glass being then a rare and dear commodity. On the north side is a doorway about the middle of the wall, clearly of very early date. This completes the features of the smaller church, which may be carried back to Benedict's time. In the porch at Jarrow are preserved a number of interesting stones. Besides a series of baluster shafts, are some lengths of carved stone, either string courses or remains of an enclosure for the quire of the singers. These are ornamented with a row of small and, as it were, model balusters, carved side by side and similar to others found at Hexham, also some pieces of fine sculptured crosses and a large grave slab with a primitive cross on it like that found at Monkwearmouth.

At Jarrow is preserved a straight-backed chair

EXTERIOR OF THE SAXON CHURCH AT ESCOMB.

PLAN OF THE SAXON CHURCH AT ESCOMB.

[*See drawing p.*

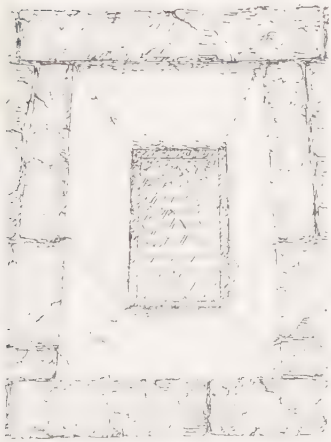
made of wood, evidently of great antiquity, which bears the name of "Bede's Chair." If so old, it must have been saved from the ravages of the Danes. I overlooked, when writing about St. Augustine in an earlier volume, that a roughly hewn chair exists in Herefordshire, which is traditionally associated with Augustine and represented as the chair which he sat upon at his audience with the Welsh bishops. In addition to the churches at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, there is also a church in the county of Durham, with small doubt, belonging to very early Saxon times. It has many artistic ties with the churches above described, and may not unlikely have been a foundation of Benedict or one of his companions. This is situated at Escomb, and is now dedicated to St. John, but, as is reasonably supposed, it once had Wilfrid for its patron. Professor Brown speaks of it as by far the most interesting specimen of a complete "nave and chancel" church. It is one of half a dozen or so of extant buildings to which an early date in the Saxon period can be confidently assigned. "It is possible," he adds, "that the stones have been reworked on their beds, and they may not originally have been arch stones. The jambs again remind us of wooden construction, as they are formed of stones alternately set on end and laid flat, and form an example of what has been termed long-and-short work."[1] In the north wall are two ancient doorways.

Mr. Hodges says it is one of the three remain-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 68.

ing Saxon churches which (except a few insertions of windows) are entirely of Saxon work; the other two are St. Lawrence, at Bradford, and the smaller church at Deerhurst. The nave is of remarkable length, compared to its width, and is also notable for its great height; "the gable is sharply pointed, the walls are 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and seem to batten or grow thinner as they rise. They are built chiefly of squared stones of ample size, many of which show by the tooling or other marks upon them that they are Roman stones brought from a neighbouring station of the legions, probably from Vinovium, now Binchester. Especially large blocks have been used for the quoins, some of them being 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet in height by 3 or 4 feet long. They show numerous signs of having been before employed, such as cramp and lewis holes. These quoin stones are set up on edge and extend like slabs along the walls alternately north and south and east and west. There is no trace of the technique of long-and-short work. This, however, meets us when we enter the building in the imposing and characteristic feature of the chancel-arch, which is 15 feet high and 5 feet 3 inches wide, and is constructed of large stones that all go through the entire thickness of the wall and are carefully squared or cut to the wedge-shaped voussoir form. The imposts are chamfered so that a portion of the jamb is cut in the same stone below the chamfer. This is a feature of Roman buildings.

Interior of Saxon Church at Escomb, looking East.



Square-Headed Splayed Window.

Round-Headed Splayed Window from Escomb.

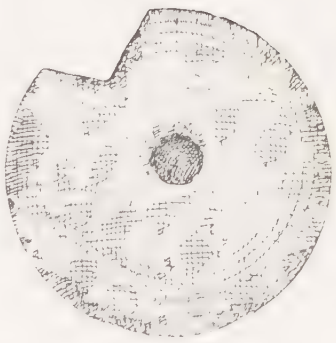
The tooling on their sides is Roman tooling, and Mr. Hodges suggests that this arch, like the one at Corby Church, is a transferred Roman one, surmounted by flat lintels; one is now built in the chancel and the other in the nave, the jambs are constructed like the chancel-arch, but approach each other as they rise. They are 3 feet apart above, but 3 feet 3 inches below. The opening is rebated for a wooden door which was kept closed by the common device of a wooden bar that played into a recess in the stone work of the jamb. Outside the flat lintel and jamb are mortised into each other, as is also observable in a Roman gateway at Chester. The south door of the nave is also an original one, though altered in modern times, part of the east jamb being ancient; the north and south doors are not, as usual, opposite each other. Of the small original lights in the nave, the two on the north are flat-headed, while the pair on the south have round heads cut out of two single stones, set one behind the other to make up the thickness of the wall. The innermost lintel of the south-east window is fully 7 feet wide; both are internally splayed and have sloping jambs. The groove for a shutter is visible on the jambs of the round-headed light. There are no original openings in the chancel, but there is one high up on the west wall of the nave.

"There are remains of old plastering both inside and out, on the wall, and a bit of pebble or cobble flooring in the north-west corner. On the

south wall of the nave is a mutilated Saxon sundial with a curious monster, half-serpent and half-fish, curling round it." Mr. Hodges also mentions a fragment of a cross which he says is of the Hexham school of carving, with a large bold scroll on its broader sides containing birds and beasts, and a smaller scroll containing foliage and flowers only, on the narrow edge. He finds an indication of the early date of the church in the inclination of the door and window jambs, and the way in which stones forming the jambs are let a little way into the lintels, both being survivals of the earlier timber construction. It is easy to understand, he says, what an impression these lofty white churches would have on the native population, used to low huts and one-storey houses of wood, thatched with straw or ling[1]

A notable feature of these early churches is the existence of the dwarf baluster shafts already mentioned, used as the decoration of doors and windows, and not, as in later times, as mid-wall shafts. These shafts are some 3 or 4 feet high, and show distinct traces of having been turned in the lathe. This last method of turning them was well known to the Romans, and my late friend, G. E. Fox, who was such a loss to us all, states that on every Roman site in Britain, where columns or capitals or bases are found, there is evidence of the lathe having been used in forming them.[2] Mr. Fox was not quite

[1] Hodges, *op. cit.* 1894, pp. 65–69; Brown, *op. cit.* ii. 110 and 115.
[2] *Arch. Journ.*, xlvi. 48.



End.

A Specimen of a Baluster Shaft, showing the Method of Turning.

satisfied about the use made of them in all cases by the Romans. He says that "those of small size were certainly occasionally employed as supports for stone tables." He names twenty so employed as preserved in the Museum at Mainz. At Silchester there is evidence of a number of stone tables, "while others of larger dimensions, placed on a dwarf wall, upheld the roofs of peristyles in domestic buildings . . . probably they may have served . . . as dividing shafts to larger window openings in gables."[1]

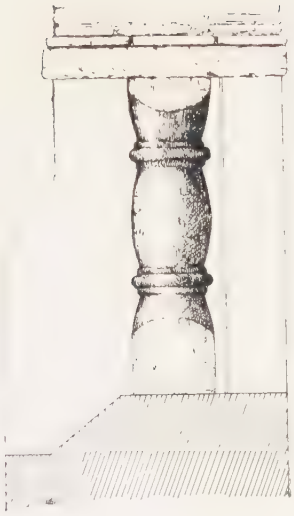
Similar shafts, on a small scale, occur as ornaments on tombstones and altars.[2] It seems clear that the Saxon balusters are directly derived from Roman ones, and like them were turned in the lathe, and in some cases were in fact Roman ones re-used, but the great bulk of them were clearly made in Saxon times and have peculiarities quite distinguishing them from Roman specimens. Professor Brown says that the oldest Saxon shafts at Monkwearmouth and at Jarrow are in profile quite unlike anything we find in classical architecture. The existing Roman shafts found in this country, except in certain special cases, "are classical and exhibit the three parts of the normal columns, base, shaft, and capital." On the other hand, the earliest Saxon ones[3] are merely cylinders with a number of raised rings or hollowed ones. These rings are sometimes single and sometimes grouped in twos and threes.

[1] *Arch. Journ.*, liv. 170. [2] Brown, *op. cit.* 10 and 191, etc.
[3] Professor Brown gives us a whole plate of them.

As many as fifty such shafts, whole or in fragments, occur in the library at Durham and the porch at Jarrow, but the most important ones, says Professor Brown, are those actually *in situ* on the jamb of the porch and some of the windows and in the west wall at Monkwearmouth. He suggests that they were probably all so used, and the number found at the two Durham churches would pretty well correspond to the number of the windows. Such shafts have never been found abroad nor in England except in the north country, where the Roman remains furnish so many examples. At St. Albans, Dover, etc.—*i.e.* Roman sites in southern England, the ornamentation is markedly different, and they belong to late Saxon times. This very long digression will, I hope, be forgiven by those who look upon the history of Christian art in England as very germane to the history of England's Church.

We have seen how Ceolfrid went to settle at Jarrow with a number of monks and carried through the building of the monastery there. We are further told that among them there were several who could not yet sing nor even read aloud the service in the choir according to the requirements of the monastic ritual. He had to complete their musical and liturgical education, as well as that of newcomers who now thronged to Jarrow. He conciliated them by entering into their studies and exercises even in the minutest details, until the Benedictine Rule was firmly planted among them, and, as Montalembert picturesquely puts it, "he

[illegible] of St. Baldred.



Turned Shaft from Western Porch Door, Monkwearmouth.

Tomb of St. Guthlac.—*See page* 414.

[Vol. II., facing p. 298.

had to wield the trowel as well as the crozier in order to direct and complete in less than two years the construction of the Abbey Church, in which King Ecgfrid himself fixed the position of the altar." When, on the death of Benedict, Ceolfrid succeeded to the abbacy of the two monasteries, he had a flock of 600 monks.

When Benedict went to Rome, as we mentioned, he nominated his cousin Eosterwyn, the son of his father's brother, as second abbot to himself at Wearmouth to take charge of his monastery in his absence. Bede excuses the appointment of two abbots to one monastery at one time, on the ground that the most important of them, Benedict, was making continual journeys across the sea for the good of the establishment. He quotes as a precedent a case mentioned by Epiphanius[1] in which St. Peter is reported to have appointed two pontiffs under him who were in due course to govern the Church of Rome.[2]

Eosterwyn undertook the government of St. Paul's monastery in the ninth year after its foundation, and remained its abbot until his death four years later. He had been a "minister" of King Ecgfrid and entirely abandoned his high position and future, and was content, like the rest of the monkish brethren, to be employed in winnowing and grinding, in milking the ewes and cows, in working in the bakehouse, the garden, and the kitchen, and

[1] *Hæres*, xxvii.

[2] Mabillon, sec. ii. p. 1005, has collected other examples.

in other employments. He retained his humility even after he became abbot, and still took his place at the plough handle, or the forge hammer (*ferrum malleo domando*), or at the winnowing fan (*ventilabrum manu concutiendo*). He fed with the brethren (eating the same food) and slept in the same dormitory as he had done before he became abbot, and used to do so two nights in the week, even after he became an invalid, spending the other four nights more privately. On the very day of his death he came out into the open air, and, seating himself, summoned the brethren and gave them the kiss of peace while they were weeping for the approaching loss of so kind a father. He died on 7th March 685, in the night while the brethren were singing lauds. He was then thirty-six years old, having entered the monastery at twenty-four and been a priest seven years, four of which he was abbot. The cause of his death was the plague, which also carried off many others in the monastery.

We will now return to Benedict. Having put his own Monastery of St. Peter in charge of Eosterwyn, and Ceolfrid over that of St. Paul, he set out on his last journey to Rome, and presently returned, as usual, loaded with treasures for his churches, including a great number both of books and pictures, and he proceeded to cover the walls of a new church he had built in the precincts of the larger monastery and dedicated to the Virgin, with subjects from the life of the

Saviour, while for that of the Monastery of St. Paul he brought a number of others showing the connection of the Old and New Testaments; among these was a picture of Isaac bearing the wood for his own sacrifice, which was put in juxtaposition with one of Christ bearing His cross, while Moses raising the serpent in the wilderness was contrasted with the Crucifixion. He also brought home two silken palls (*pallia duo oloserica*) of incomparable work. These he apparently gave to King Ecgfrid, for Bede tells us that after his return, and when Ecgfrid had been killed, he bought them back from his successor, King Aldfrid, and his counsellors for three hides of land on the south bank of the Wear. The price paid for the palls shows what gorgeous garments they must have been. In fact, all silken robes were then very precious, and these were probably the finest that had ever been seen in England, and rivalled those worn by the great Emperor himself at Constantinople. When Benedict reached home, he heard the sad news of the death of his protégé, the Abbot Eosterwyn, and a considerable number of his monks from the plague, but he was pleased that a most suitable successor for him had been found in Sigfrid the Deacon, who had been put in his place by the remaining brethren, assisted by his co-Abbot Ceolfrid. Sigfrid was highly versed in the knowledge of the Bible, had very pleasant manners, and was a great ascetic. "His bodily infirmity," says Bede, "interfered little with the activity of his

mind, while the dangerous and incurable lung disease he had preserved the innocency of his heart."

Bede tells us that "not long after his return from Rome, Benedict began to be afflicted with paralysis, which gradually and slowly increased upon him for three years, so that his lower limbs became useless (*tanta paralisi dissolutus est, ut ab omni prorsus inferiorum membrorum factus sit parte praemortuus*), the upper ones alone, without which life cannot be sustained, being reserved to him for an exhibition of his patience and fortitude (*ad officium patientiae virtutemque reservatis*)."

Meanwhile, he constantly addressed the brethren who came to him and strengthened them in keeping the Rule which he had given them. He assured them that that Rule was not the product of his own untutored heart (*indoctus corde*), for he had made himself acquainted with whatever was most valuable in the management of the seventeen monasteries he had visited during his long and frequent travels. The benefit of this experience he had given them for their profit and guidance. He then commanded that the very noble and precious library which he had brought from Rome, and which was so necessary for the instruction of the Church (*ad instructionem ecclesiae eccessariam*) should not be scattered but kept together.

He further urged them very earnestly that in selecting their abbot they should always have regard to probity of life and doctrine (*vivendi*

docendique probitatem) rather than high birth, nor should he be a stranger (*deforis aliunde*), and he assured them that rather than that he should ever be succeeded by an abbot devoted to worldly and carnal ways, he hoped that the whole of his precious foundation would return to the condition of a pristine wilderness in which he had found it.

He then went on to bid them choose an abbot in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict (*regula magni quondam abbatis Benedicti*), and according to the decree contained "in our Privilege." Having selected a fitting person with common consent, they were then to summon the bishop and have him confirmed as abbot with the usual blessing.

Bede tells us that at night, when he could not sleep on account of his bodily infirmity, Benedict employed a reader to read to him some passage from Job by which a sick man might be comforted and his thoughts taken away to higher things. Inasmuch as he could not rise in bed to pray, nor could he raise his voice sufficiently, duly to recite the psalms, he was wont, on the recurrence of the Canonical Hours, to summon some of the brethren to him who sang the accustomed psalms in two quires, he himself joining with them to the best of his ability. Bede goes on to say that Benedict and his fellow-abbot, Sigfrid, his own protégé, feeling that they were neither of them any longer fit to govern their monasteries, expressed a desire once more to see

each other before departing for another world. Sigfrid was accordingly carried in a litter (*in feretro*) on a bed where Benedict was lying (*in grabato*), and they were put side by side by their attendants, with their heads on the same pillow (*caput utriusque in eodem cervicali locaretur*)—"a lamentable spectacle," we are told, "for so weak were they, that though their faces were near each other they were too feeble to kiss (*ut proprius posita ora ad osculandum*) without assistance." They then took counsel together and with the brethren, and sent for Ceolfrid, whom Benedict had placed over the Monastery of St. Paul, and to whom he was so closely tied by relationship and kindred virtues. He thereupon, with the consent of the brotherhood, appointed him head of both monasteries, deeming this the wisest solution, for he concluded that it would better secure common peace, unity, and concord between the two sister foundations by having a common father and governor (*unum perpetuo patrem rectoremque*). In all this he reminded them of the Jewish kingdom, which remained powerful and prosperous when under one head, and only decayed and came to an end when broken into fragments, and especially emphasised the aphorism contained in Matt. xii. 25, that every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.[1]

Two months later, says Bede, *i.e.* on the eleventh of the kalends of September (22nd August 688), Abbot Sigfrid died, and four months later still, on

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abbatum*, lib. 1, 12 and 13.

12th January 689, he was followed by Benedict.[1] "The night was chilly with the blasts of winter (*Nox ruit hibernis algida flatibus*). Some of the brethren were gathered in the church, occupied in prayers and psalms, and endeavouring to ease the pain of their father's departure by continual praise (*paternae decessionis pondus continua divinae laudis modulatione solantur*). Others remained in the chamber, where he lay expecting his end. Through the whole night a priest read from the Gospel, as was customary. The sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord was given to him at the moment of his death as a refreshment for his journey (*Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum hora exitus instante pro viatico datur*), and thus that holy soul (*sic anima illa sancta*), which had been much tried and purified (*excocta atque examinata*) with the long flames of the blessed scourge, abandoned the earthy vessel of its flesh."[2]

Bede adds a naive example of the modes of thought then prevailing. He claims that the departure of the saint was most victorious and unmolested by foul spirits. This, he says, was proved by the fact that his spirit departed from his body when the brethren, in singing the psalms, had arrived at the eighty-second Psalm. The import of the whole of this psalm is that the enemies of the name of Christ are always endeavouring to destroy and disperse

[1] In regard to these dates, see the discussion in Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 364 and 374, notes.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Abbatum*, lib. 1, ii. 14.

Christ's Church and every faithful soul within it, and being foiled by the Almighty.

He was buried in *the porticus* or chapel of his own Church of St. Peter to the east of the altar, whither the bones of Abbots Eosterwyn and Sigfrid were afterwards removed.[1]

Bede, speaking of the burial-place, says: "So that even after his death his body was not far removed from the altar and relics of him whom he, during his lifetime, had been wont always to love, and who had opened to him the gate of everlasting life, that he might enter therein" (*i.e.* St. Peter). He had governed the monastery sixteen years, the first eight by himself, the last eight with the help of Eosterwyn, Sigfrid, and Ceolfrid; with the first for four years, the second for three, and the third for one year. According to William of Malmesbury,[2] Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester (963–984), bought Benedict's body for a great price (*magno pretio*) and translated it to Thorney.[3]

Thus passed away the gentle and yet never weary saint, possibly more worthy of the title than any other man in the motley gathering who flourished in that century. A famous traveller, he made the very hazardous and arduous journey to Rome six times. He was further a great founder of monasteries, and patron of learning and religious art. He discovered, and did much to foster, the gifts of two famous men, Ceolfrid and Bede, the latter of

[1] *Vit. Anon. Abb.*, ch. xviii.
[2] *G.P.*, p. 329.
[3] Plummer, ii. 365.

whom he brought into his monastery when he was seven. We cannot do better, in summing up his character, than quote Bede's sympathetic words: "*Vitiorum victor Benedictus et virtutum patrator egregius, victus infirmitate carnis ad extrema pervenit.*"[1]

As we have seen, before Benedict died he arranged that Ceolfrid should succeed him as abbot of both his monasteries, to which post he was now duly appointed. It was not proper, according to the later theories of the Benedictines, for one abbot to preside over two separate monasteries; but Biscop was not a Benedictine, and the decision was in any case justified by the exceptional personality of the new abbot. One of Ceolfrid's first recorded acts was the securing of the ordination of Bede (who had been an inmate of the monastery since he was seven) as a deacon. This was in 679. Three years later he was ordained priest. We also hear of the new abbot purchasing an estate of twenty hides from King Aldfrid because it was near the monastery. This was at a place called Sambuce.[2] Camden suggests that it was Camboise, at the mouth of the Wansbeck; others have suggested Sandoe.[3] Ceolfrid's fame doubtless spread very widely. In Bede's work on the *Lives of the Abbots* we are told a pretty story about his zeal during the plague. That terrible visitation had carried off everybody from the monastery who could read, or preach, or chant

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, ch. 14. [2] *Ib.* ch. 15.
[3] Plummer, ii. 365.

the antiphons and responses except the abbot himself and a boy who had been nurtured and taught by him, and who now, says the too modest writer, "performed the functions of a priest." The abbot decided that in the sad case in which they were placed, they should, contrary to their previous practice (*intermisso ritu priori*), recite the psalms without antiphons, except at vespers and matins, which, having been done for a week, amidst tears and complaints, Ceolfrid determined to restore the whole course and to chant the psalter with the antiphons alone with the boy until he had, with much toil, trained a fresh set of men to do the work, or collected some choristers from elsewhere.[1] The boy in question was doubtless Bede himself.

We have seen how Adamnan, the Abbot of Iona, paid two visits to King Aldfrid of Northumbria[2] in 686 and 688. On the occasion of one of them (probably the second one) doubtless attracted by the fame of Ceolfrid, he paid him a visit at Jarrow, which in its consequences was very memorable. The story is told by Bede, who was then living there, and was about seventeen years old. I will give it in Ceolfrid's own words from his letter to the King of the Picts. He says: "Adamnan, the abbot and renowned priest of the adherents of St. Columba, when sent as ambassador by his nation to King Aldfrid, who was desirous to see our monastery. On discovering wonderful wisdom,

[1] *Vit. Anon.*, par. 14. [2] See Plummer, ii. 301

humility, and religion in his behaviour and words, among other things I said to him in conversation, 'I beseech you, holy brother, who think you are advancing to the crown of life, which knows no end, why do you, contrary to the habit of your faith, wear on your head the representation of a crown which has an end?'" (*i.e.* the Celtic tonsure). "'If you aim at the society of the blessed Peter, why do you imitate the tonsure of him whom Peter anathematised? And why do you not show that you imitate to the utmost the image of him with whom you desire to live happy for ever?' He answered, 'Be assured, my dear brother, that though I have Simon's tonsure, according to the custom of my country, yet I detest and abhor with all my mind his simoniacal wicked views, and I desire, as far as my littleness is capable of doing it, to follow the footsteps of the most blessed prince of the apostles.'[1]

"I replied, 'I verily believe it is as you say, but why not show outwardly what you know to be the practice of the Apostle Peter? Why do you distort your appearance, already dedicated to God, from the pattern you wear in your heart, and why not imitate the outward look of Him whom you wish to have as your advocate with God?'"

[1] It is hardly likely that Adamnan would admit that his tonsure was that of Simon Magus. As Plummer says, the letter, though professedly by Ceolfrid, was written by Bede, and is marked by his phraseology, amounting in certain cases to verbal identity (*op. cit.* ii. 332 and 392).

"Adamnan," continues Ceolfrid, "showed how much his views had altered after seeing our statutes, for on returning to Scotland he afterwards, by his preaching, brought great crowds of that realm over to the Catholic observance of the paschal time, though he was not yet able to bring to the better way the monks who lived on the island of Hii" (*i.e.* Iona), "over whom he presided as governor. He would also have altered the tonsure if his authority had extended so far."[1] The conversion of the great abbot to the Roman ways caused much trouble among his old friends in the north. The story of what occurred is not too clear; for the later writers, who were devoted to the orthodox side, were not very willing to admit the changes. We have an unmistakable if rather fantastic picture in the valuable and early work of *Mac Firbis*, generally quoted as "The Three Fragments of Irish Annals." It tells us that "he (*i.e.* Adamnan) requested the congregation at Iona to accept the new tonsure, but God permitted the convent to sin and to expel Adamnan. He thereupon went to Ireland."[2]

Under the date 704 we read: "In this year the men of Erin consented to receive one jurisdiction and one rule from Adamnan in regard to the celebration of Easter and the tonsuring of all the clerks of Ireland, after the manner of St. Peter. There had been dissension in Erin up to that time, for some of the clergy of Erin celebrated Easter on the Sunday next after the fourteenth of the month of

[1] *H.E.*, v. 21. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 115.

April, and had the tonsure of Peter the Apostle, like St. Patrick, but others, following that of Columbkille, celebrated Easter on the 14th of April, on whatever day of the week the fourteenth happened to fall, and had the tonsure of Simon Magus; a third party agreed with neither of these. The clergy of Ireland had held many synods on the subject; to these synods the clergy used to come, accompanied by the laity, so that battles and deaths occurred between them; and many evils resulted in Ireland in consequence of this, and also a great murrain of cows, and a very great famine and many diseases, and the devastation of Ireland by foreign hordes. It was thus in the time of Adamnan."[1]

The twenty-first chapter of the fifth book of Bede's history is devoted in the main to the long letter by Ceolfrid, or more likely by Bede in his name, to Nechtan, King of the Picts, from which I have already quoted. Bede says of it: "Nechtan, King of the Picts who inhabit the northern part of Britain, taught by frequent study of the ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error by which he and his nation had till then been 'held' in regard to the observance of Easter, and submitted, together with his people, to celebrate the Catholic time of our Lord's resurrection. In order that he might do this with greater care and authority, he sought help from the nation of the Anglians and sent messengers to the venerable man Ceolfrid, abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul (*sic*), near the

[1] *Op. cit.* 113.

rivers Wear and Tyne at 'in Gyrvum' (*i.e.* Jarrow), asking him to write him a letter containing the arguments by which he might more easily confute those who presumed to keep Easter out of the due time, as also concerning the form and manner of making the tonsure. He also asked him to send some architects to build a church among his people after the Roman fashion" (by which a building in stone and not wood is doubtless meant), "promising to dedicate the same in honour of the blessed Peter, and that he and his people would follow the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church, as far as they could ascertain the same, considering their remoteness from that people and their unacquaintance with its tongue."

Ceolfrid thereupon wrote the letter in question, which is addressed to "the Most Excellent Lord, and Most Glorious King Naitan," and continues: "Abbot Ceolfrid sends greeting in the Lord." He says that he gladly desires to explain what is the Catholic observance of Holy Easter, as he had learnt it from the Apostolic See, since it had been the function of the Holy Church as given from heaven, to learn, teach, and guard the truth and the affairs of our Lord. He then quotes an aphorism of a "worldly" writer, by whom he means Plato, to the effect that the world would be most happily situated if either kings were philosophers or philosophers kings,[1] and adds: "The more powerful a person is in the world, the more he should labour to become

[1] *Vide* Plato, *de Rep.*, v. ch. xviii.

acquainted with the commands of Him who is the supreme Judge, so that by his example and authority he may induce those who are committed to his charge, as well as himself, to keep the same."[1]

He then goes on to give three reasons, which he defends at some length, for the Catholic view about Easter, two of them prescribed by Moses, and the third in the Gospel. The Law ordered that the Passover should be kept in the third week of the first month of the year, that is, from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the month. He quotes ample authority for this, adding that the paschal week must begin and end on the evening of one of those days. "After the sacrifice of Christ, the Lord's Day (which among the ancients was called the first of the week, and on which the Resurrection took place), was made a solemn day for us; the apostolical tradition has decided that the paschal feast shall never begin before the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month, and that on the evening of that day all the churches in the world, composing one Catholic Church, shall provide bread and wine for the mystery of the flesh and blood (*praepararent . . . panem et vinum in mysterium carnis et sanguinis*) of the unspotted Lamb who took away the sins of the world. And after the appropriate solemnity of reading the proper lessons and prayers (*congrua lectionum orationum*), they should offer up these things (*haec*) in the hope of a future

[1] *Bede*, v. 21.

redemption; for Christ's resurrection delivered all the people of God from eternal death on the same night as the blood of the lamb delivered the people of Israel out of Egypt. Then, on the morning of the Lord's Day following, they should celebrate the first day of the paschal festival."

"If it could happen that the Lord's Day should always fall on the fifteenth day of the first month we might always celebrate Easter at the same time as the ancient people of God have their Passover, for though the mystery be different, the faith is the same; but inasmuch as the day of the week does not keep pace exactly with the moon, the apostolical tradition, as preserved at Rome by St. Peter, and at Alexandria by St. Mark, decided that Easter Day might be kept on any day of the month between the fourteenth and twenty-first, which happened to be a Sunday, and therefore the anniversary of the Resurrection." So much for the day.

"In regard to what was meant by the words 'the first month,' the vernal equinox," says Ceolfrid "(according to the opinion of all the Eastern nations, and particularly of the Egyptians, who excel all other learned men in that calculation), usually happens on the twelfth day of the kalends of April (*i.e.* 21st March). Whenever a full moon occurs on the fourteenth or fifteenth day before the equinox, it is treated as belonging to the last month of the previous year, and is not therefore proper for observing Easter, while the first full moon after the equinox belongs to the current year

and the first month of it, and on it the ancients were without doubt wont to celebrate the Passover." Having argued the case in this fashion, Ceolfrid proceeds to adduce certain mystical considerations in support of it which remind us of St. Gregory's methods of interpretation in such cases, and need not now detain us. He then goes on to explain the different methods which had been devised by various scholars, such as Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril his successor, and Dionysius Exiguus, for finding the date of the vernal equinox. "There is so great a number of calculators," says Ceolfrid, "that even in our churches throughout Britain there are many who, having committed to memory the ancient rules of the Egyptians, can with great ease calculate the paschal time for any distant year, even to 552 years, after which the movements of the sun and moon return to the same order as before."

Lastly, Ceolfrid enjoined the King to promote the accepted ecclesiastical tonsure. "We know," he says, "that all the Apostles were not tonsured in the same fashion, nor does the Church now agree on one form of tonsure throughout the world, yet although no form of tonsure now practised in the Church is obligatory, yet among the tonsures in use the most worthy is that sanctioned by St. Peter, while none is to be more abhorred than that used by Simon Magus." Apart from this, he argued that, by means of the orthodox tonsure, the Crown of thorns used by Christ was symbolised, but in

regard to the tonsure said to have been used by Simon Magus, while it resembles a crown when seen from the top of the forehead, yet when looked at from the neck, "you will find your crown cut short." He then quotes the example of Adamnan above mentioned in embracing the Catholic practice in these matters, and admonishes the King to support the unity of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

This letter having been read in the presence of King Nechtan and many other learned men, and been carefully interpreted into his own language by those who could understand it, they rejoiced greatly and knelt down before him and thanked God for the gift he had received at the hand of the Angles. He then declared that he intended with all his nation to keep the Catholic Easter, and that the Catholic tonsure should also be received by the clergy of his kingdom. "Thereupon, the cycle of nineteen years was introduced throughout all the provinces of the Picts (the cycle of eighty-two years being cancelled), while all the ministers of the altar and the monks had their heads shorn in the Catholic fashion."[1] These words of Bede contain a considerable exaggeration, and it is clear that the King's determination was not accepted at Iona, but the effect was nevertheless no doubt very great.

We now reach the term of Ceolfrid's career. He was seventy-four years old, and, unlike so many men who hold on to office and responsibility when their hands and wills have become palsied for good,

[1] *Bede*, v. 21.

he determined to resign his post as abbot and to hand it over to a younger man. He broke the news to his monks, and three days later was on his way to Rome, for he did not wish to have his determination altered by the importunities of his friends nor to be the recipient of presents (*Ne pecunia daretur illi a quibusdam, quam retribuere pro tempore nequiret*).[1]

Another wise resolve of the old man was that when he laid down his life's work he would go a long way off, so that his presence might not embarrass his successor, either by creating parties within the monastery or by his being tempted himself to interfere unduly with the work for which he was no longer actually responsible. He therefore made up his mind to go to Rome, which he had visited with his patron and predecessor Benedict in 678, that is, thirty-eight years before, and of which, no doubt, he had pleasant memories. He had been a priest for forty-seven and abbot for thirty-four years[2] and had won the hearts of all his flock, and they naturally urged him to stay, for they knew he needed the necessary strength for so long a journey, and they feared that he would die on the way. The parting is told by Bede in very sympathetic words. He describes Ceolfrid's going to Rome as a pilgrimage (*apostolorum limina peregrinaturus adiret*), but he no doubt went there to close his life and to be buried among the saints.

On the 4th of June 716, immediately after the

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 17.

[2] See Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 366.

first service of the day (at which he said Mass and gave the Communion to all present), he prepared for his departure amidst the lamentations of those with whom he had passed so many tranquil years. His monks, some 600 in number, were assembled in the church at Wearmouth, and, having prayed, he stood at the altar holding in his hand the censer (*turribulum habens in manu*) and gave them his "peace." They then left the church in procession singing litanies (*inter laetanias*), and went towards the choir, their chants being interrupted by sobs. When they came to the dormitory of the monastery Ceolfrid entered the small church of St. Lawrence and delivered his last admonition, urging the monks to persevere in brotherly love, to keep strict discipline, and to be instant in their duties to God, and ended by asking for their prayers for himself.

On the banks of the river Tyne he gave them all the kiss of peace again, and they received his blessing on their knees. He was accompanied across the river by the deacons of the church, carrying lighted tapers and a golden cross. When he reached the opposite shore he did obeisance to the cross (the words used are "*adorat crucem*"), and then mounted the horse which was to carry him to the place of embarkation, which was apparently somewhere on the Humber. As he rode away, the distant chanting of his monks met his ear, and he broke into tears and said, "Christ, my Lord, my God, have pity on this worthy and numerous

company (*miserere illi caetui*) . . . and protect that band (*illam cohortem*). I certainly know none better nor more obedient than they."[1]

The monks returned to the monastery and three days later proceeded to elect as their new abbot for the two monasteries, Huætberht, who had lived among them since he was a child (*a primis primitiae temporibus*). The choice had doubtless been really made by Ceolfrid, who must have had a special knowledge of him, and who had sent him with the mission to Pope Sergius previously mentioned.

When chosen, he and those who had taken part in the election followed in haste after Ceolfrid to bid him good-bye at his port of departure. There the latter confirmed his appointment and received from him a letter of commendation to the Pope. This is worth reporting, and I will give it in Montalembert's graceful translation. "To the blessed Pope Gregory II., our dear lord in the Lord of lords, Huætberht, your humble servant, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, among the Saxons, everlasting greeting. In the name of all my brethren, united in this place with me, to find rest for their souls and to bear the sweet yoke of Christ, we recommend to your dear and holy kindness the white hairs of our venerable and beloved father, the Abbot Ceolfrid, who has ruled, trained, fed, and defended us in monastic peace and freedom. He has torn himself from us

[1] *Vit. Anon. Abb.*, 27.

in the midst of our lamentations, tears, and sorrow, but we thank the Holy and Invisible Trinity that it has been given him to attain to the blessed joy of rest which he has so long desired. He returns in his extreme old age to the tombs of the apostles, his visits to which in youth he has always remembered with enthusiasm. After forty years of work and care in his monastic government he shows himself as much inspired by the love of virtue as though he were still in the first freshness of his conversion, and on the threshold of death, bent under a weight of age, he again becomes a pilgrim to Christ. We conjure your Paternity to render to this beloved father those last duties of filial piety which it will not be permitted to us to accomplish. Afterwards you will keep his body, but his soul will remain with us and with you, and after his death, as during his life, we shall find in him a friend, protector, and intercessor with God."[1]

The port whence Ceolfrid sailed is supposed to have been somewhere on the Humber. On the way thither he called at a place called in his biography Cornu Vallis, where there was a monastery presided over by an abbot called Alberht. The site of this monastery is not known. The abbot was probably the person mentioned in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham as Alberct Abbas.[2]

The travellers doubtless landed at Cwantawic, the modern Etaples, whence they went on to the

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 18.

[2] See Wright, *Biog. Britt.*, l. 235–36; Plummer, ii. 368.

court of King Chilperic II., from whom Ceolfrid obtained a charter of protection on his journey through France and a letter of introduction to Liudprand, the King of the Lombards.

The forebodings of the monks were duly verified, for Ceolfrid fell ill and died on the way. This was on 25th Sept. 716, so that he had been more than three months on his journey. His death took place at Langres (*Lingonensis civitas*), on the borders of Burgundy in the diocese of Lyons, where he had been honourably received by Gangulf, the governor of the province, and where his body was buried in the Monastery of St. Gerosmes (*Geminorum*, that is, of the twin martyrs). It was situated in the southern suburb of the city where the twins had been murdered, and had been founded by Gangulf.[1]

William of Malmesbury reports that Ceolfrid's relics were afterwards translated to Wearmouth, which is confirmed by Alcuin.[2] The former adds that, with those of St. Hilda, they were subsequently on the Danish devastation moved to Glastonbury, which, says Plummer, is almost certainly false.[3]

On the death of Ceolfrid some of his companions remained at Langres, "preferring to live on, close to the tomb of a father whom they loved with unextinguishable devotion, rather than in the midst of a people whose language they did not understand."[4]

[1] See *Vit. Anon. Abb.*, pars. 35 and 36.
[2] *De Sanctis Ebor.*, vv. 1298, 1299.
[3] *Op. cit.* ii. 369.
[4] *Vit. Anon. Abb.*, par. 35.

Others returned to England, the rest went on to Rome. They were all apparently very generously treated by Gangulf, already named, and those who went to Italy took with them the presents which Ceolfrid was taking to the Pope. Among these the most precious and the most interesting was the copy of the Bible which still survives, and which is known as the *Codex Amiatinus*. So interesting and important is it that I have devoted a special appendix to it.

In measuring the career of Ceolfrid, we may perhaps discount a small portion of it, on the ground that his biographer was his devoted pupil; but we cannot fail to conclude that among the galaxy of famous men who at this time made Northumbria the European beacon of Christian light and learning, he fills a notable place. It is true that, like Benedict, he does not seem to have been an author of books, but his letter to the Pictish King which I have abstracted in a previous page (if not composed by Bede) shows him, as the late Dr. T. Wright says, to have been a lucid writer and a keen-sighted theologian. It is distinguished by clearness of style and remarkable vigour and perspicuity. Other works attributed to him by Bale are not named by any early writer, and none of them are now known to exist. He mentions homilies, epistles, and a volume treating *De sua peregrinatione.*

His great title to fame was as a collector of books and encourager of learning. We are told

that he added much to Benedict's library, and was especially responsible for furnishing each of his monasteries with a copy of the Bible codex (already named), splendidly and accurately written, and of which the text was exceptionally good; in order that they might be read and consulted by all who wished to do so (*ut cuncti qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent, in promptu ponents invenire quod cuperent*).[1]

As a monk and abbot he was exemplary for his zeal and his own personal piety and devotion. We are told it was his ordinary practice, in addition to the Canonical Hours, to recite the Psalms twice daily.[2] This he increased during his last journey of 114 days, during which, besides the Canonical Hours, he recited the whole Psalter twice a day, and after he was transferred to a litter he chanted the Mass on every day except the one when he was crossing the ocean and the three days before his death.

He similarly paid great attention to the church services at the monastery, and was severe against any irregularity, but was gentle to the weak, encouraging and consoling them, while his own excessive asceticism in food and clothing is said to have been matter of great surprise to his contemporaries.[3]

This does not mean that his monastery as an institution was poor in income and resources, for Bede in his life of him says that he never received

[1] *Vit. Anon. Abb.*, 20. [2] *Ib.*, par. 33. [3] *Ib.* 33.

a present from any one without returning a corresponding gift,[1] upon which Montalembert has the comment: "It is clear that the monks were already, even in the most fervent and exemplary communities, far from a state of primitive poverty."

[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, 13.

CHAPTER X

JUSTINIAN THE SECOND AND THE QUINISEXT COUNCIL—THE END OF THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY — THE POPES FROM AGATHO TO GREGORY THE SECOND—THE CAREERS OF ARCHBISHOP BEORHTWALD AND ABBOT HADRIAN—THE CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MERCIA FROM ÆTHELRED TO ÆTHELBALD—ST. GUTHLAC AND ST. PEGA

With the death of Constantine Pogonatos, the Eastern Empire was overtaken by one of those periods of depression which seem to have been its fate. He was succeeded by his son, Justinian the Second, who, like his father and grandfather, was a child at the time of his accession. Like them, he was chaste and free from the animal vices which often destroy men in high places, and who inherit unlimited power too young. He also had a certain share of their vigour, but he was not gifted with the same measure of political wisdom and prudence that was so highly developed in the family of Heraclius. He was especially unwise in his choice of ministers, and among them the worst were those who presided over the finances, who were cruel and rapacious. One of them, Stephanus, was a eunuch, and the other, Theodotus, an ex-abbot. They

spared neither rich nor poor, and presently the exasperated victims rose against and banished him after committing the gross outrage of slitting his nose and tongue. This was in 695. The indignity was cruelly revenged when he returned some years later.

It will be useful to devote a paragraph or two to the doings of the Saracens at this time. In the year 688, as Mr. Bury points out, the Khalif Abd Almalik renewed the terms he had made with Constantine with some alterations. He agreed to pay a daily tribute of a pound of gold, a horse, and a slave; while the Romans agreed to divide with him the revenues of Armenia, Iberia, and Cyprus, which had so long been Imperial possessions. Justinian had to consent, however, to a more humiliating concession in throwing some brave allies to the wolves. These were the Mardaites, a mixed body of Christian outlaws of different origins who had settled on the Lebanon and had "rendered unsafe and uninhabited all the mountain towns of the Saracens from Mopsuestia to the Fourth Armenia," and thus formed a brazen wall for the Empire on that side. They were Monothelites, and Mr. Bury suggests that this probably had some weight with the Emperor, whose complacency to the Arabs led him to remove some of these outlaws within the actual borders of the Empire, and to settle them in Thrace and Armenia, while others were enrolled in the army.[1] This was in A.D. 688.

[1] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 320, 321.

Justinian endeavoured to supply the void caused by the transplantation of the Mardaites by planting it with certain bodies of Slavs from Moesia, which he had formed out of prisoners captured in a recent successful war. The peace with the Saracens was not long-lived. A feud arose in consequence of Justinian's refusing to recognise their new coinage, which was stamped with verses from the Koran. A battle ensued at Sebastopolis in which the Emperor was deserted by his new Slavic levies and had to flee to the Propontis. This was followed by a revolt in Armenia led by Sempad, a native patrician. The joint authority in Cyprus was also apparently found unworkable, and Justinian transplanted the Roman tributaries thence to Asia, where a new home was found for them and the Cyprian bishop at Justiniapolis near Cyzicus.[1]

We will now turn to Justinian's church policy. His reign was marked by a very notable event whose wide-reaching character and results have not been sufficiently appreciated—namely, the meeting of the Council known as the Quinisext. This codified and finally settled the Canon Law of the Eastern Church and gave a definite authority in the East to certain decisions which were not accepted in the West. To us it is more important than would at first sight seem from the fact that most of its clauses apparently embody very largely the ecclesiastical views maintained by Archbishop Theodore which are found in his *Penitential* and

[1] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 323.

have occupied us previously. The two Councils which had been held in the seventh century had done nothing to reform or settle the administrative details of church polity. They had been entirely occupied with efforts to secure its unity by finding a formula or definition upon which the orthodox and the so-called heretics who were then very numerous, especially in the East, could agree and thus to put a stop to the bitter religious feuds which were sapping the strength and resources of the Empire.

It was a very long time since a General Council had met in which new "ecclesiastical" canons had been agreed upon or old ones confirmed, and the purpose of which was not merely to settle dogmas but to deal with the internal government and discipline of the Church. Legislation on these matters was much needed, for times had greatly changed and with them some things had become obsolete, and it was necessary to provide fresh remedies for fresh evils. The conquests of the Saracens on the one hand and the much more important and far-reaching growth of Monachism and its increasing dominance in the Church on the other called loudly for new regulations. In addition, the isolation of large parts of the Church had led to the growth of local customs and practices which needed control and revision.

This was now to be provided for by a Synod which met at Constantinople, and which, so far as can be gathered from a neutral survey of the

evidence, was perfectly regularly summoned and constituted. It was not treated as a new and separate Council but as supplementary to the two Councils called the Fifth and Sixth, and was meant to supply what had been omitted at their sittings either for lack of time or by the dominating importance in the eyes of the authorities of securing the union and peace of the Church, and which was no doubt more conveniently done now that peace had been established. It was hence known among the Latins as the Quinisext Council, and among the Greeks as Penthecton, names which themselves mark it as supplementary to the two previous Councils, and so it was considered in later times both in East and West. Its decisions on discipline are most important in Church history. They constituted in after days the Magna Charta of the Eastern Church, and would have occupied much more space in Western Church history also, if it had not been for the continual efforts to minimise its importance by the Latins, not because of the unwisdom of its disciplinary clauses but because of the difference, and especially the jealousy as to prestige and precedence between the Church of the œcumenical Pope and that of the œcumenical Patriarch, which had recently grown more acute. The supplementary Council just named, met as the previous one had done, in the domed chamber known as Trullus. It was held, according to Hefele, in 691–692, and was attended by two hundred and eleven bishops, among whom were

four patriarchs—Paul of Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem, and George of Antioch. The only person attending it who claimed to represent the Pope was Basil, Bishop of Gortyna in Crete, whose see was in the Latin Patriarchate. He had signed the decrees of the Sixth Council as a papal representative, and professed to do the same at the Synod we are now discussing. It is generally held that it was not attended by legates of the Pope or by bishops directly elected by the Western Church. There is, however, a difficulty about this, since that very authoritative work, the *Liber Pontificalis*, distinctly says that Roman legates were present and were led astray there. Its words are : *legati sedis apostolicae convenerant.* Its Acts were first signed by the Emperor, the next place was left blank for the signature of the Pope, then followed those of the other four patriarchs, then came those of the other bishops present without exception and without protest. The local Synods of the Western Church, except the earlier African Synods, were entirely ignored in its provisions.

The Acts of this Council are for the most part marked by good sense and prudence, and are in every way noteworthy. I will give an epitome of those which are especially interesting.

The second Act was not accepted in its entirety by the Western Church, and only a portion of it will be found in Gratian. *Inter alia*, this canon accepts "the eighty-five canons handed down to us in the name of the holy and glorious

apostles." In the Western Church, however, according to Anastasius, only fifty-five of these canons were received.[1]

The third Act is an important one, and relates to the marriage of the clergy. It recites that "Whereas they of the most Holy Roman Church purpose to keep the rule of exact perfection, while those who are under the throne of 'this Heaven-protected and royal city' (*i.e.* Constantinople) keep that of kindness and consideration, so blending the two together as our fathers have done, ... we decree that [those of the clergy] who are involved in a second marriage, have been slaves to sin . . . and have not resolved to repent of it, be subject to canonical deposition. If before our decree, however, they have acknowledged what is fitting and have put away their sin and done away with this connection, or where their second wives are dead have repented of their own accord . . . whether they be presbyters or deacons, they must desist from all priestly ministrations for a while, but may retain their reputation and station, being satisfied with their precedence 'before the laity,' and asking the Lord's pardon for their ignorance.

"But those who have been married to one wife, if she be a widow, and likewise those who *after* their ordination have unlawfully entered into marriage—that is, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons—shall be debarred for a short time from their ministrations and censured, and then restored again to their proper rank, never advancing to any higher rank, their unlawful marriage being meanwhile openly dissolved." The canon then goes on to renew the ancient one which declared that he who had been joined in two marriages after his baptism, or had had a concubine, could not be a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or be on the sacerdotal list at all. While he who had taken a widow, or a divorced person, a harlot, a servant, or an actress, could not be a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or be on the sacerdotal list either.

It will be noted that this canon contemplates the legality of a married man who had had only one wife being ordained if the marriage took place before the ordination. This is now the rule in the Eastern Church, where no cleric can marry after ordination. Priests, deacons, and subdeacons already married, however, can keep their wives and live with them except on the days they have to approach the holy mysteries. Bishops must

[1] *Dict. Chr. Antiquities*, i. 447.

keep perfect continence after their appointment whether before consecration they were married or not. This had apparently been the practice throughout the Eastern Church and directly contravened the Western obligation imposed upon all clerics of being completely continent after ordination.

Canon VI. expressly declares that "if any of those who enter the clergy wishes to be joined to a wife in lawful marriage before he is ordained subdeacon, deacon, or presbyter, let it be done."

Canon XII. states that in Africa and Libya bishops continued to live with their wives after ordination. This was now forbidden on pain of deposition.

Canon XIII. declares that while the rule in the Roman Church prohibited deacons and priests who had married before ordination cohabiting with their wives, (according to the ancient rule), it was now held that the lawful marriages of men and women in holy orders should remain firm, and that they should continue to live with each other as man and wife except when about to handle the holy mysteries. If anyone, therefore, contrary to the Apostolic Canons, deprived another in holy orders of the duty of cohabiting with his wife, he was to be deposed; so if a presbyter or deacon under pretence of piety should dismiss his wife. Gratian, in commenting on this canon, which is entirely contrary to the practice of the Latin Church, says of it that it must be understood as of local application—"for the Eastern Church did not receive a vow of chastity from the ministers of the altar"; and in the opinion of most Roman casuists the obligation to chastity among the Roman clergy rests upon this vow and not upon any law of the Church.[1]

It is curious that Clement the Eighth issued a decree in which he ordered that a married Greek priest must abstain from his wife for a week or three days before offering the sacrifice of the Mass.[2]

By Canon XXVI. a priest who has contracted an unlawful marriage through ignorance might retain his place but must abstain from all sacerdotal work, "for he is unfit to bless another who needs to take care of his own wounds."

According to Canon XXVII., a cleric should not wear

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[1] See Percival, *The Seven Ecclesiastical Councils*, p. 372.
[2] *Ib.*, note 1.

clothes unsuited to his vocation either in town or country, but should wear a clerical garb.

Canon XXVIII.—This canon tells us that it had been the custom in some places for a long time to join grapes with the unbloody sacrifice and to distribute them together. This was forbidden, and the oblation was ordered to be offered alone. Grapes might, however, be offered as first-fruits and blessed by the priest and then distributed to those who had been sick as an act of thanksgiving to the Giver of the fruits by which our bodies are sustained.

Canon XXIX.—This recites a canon of Carthage by which the mysteries of the altar were to be joined in, only by a fasting man except on the one day in the year when the Supper of the Lord was celebrated: "On that day," it says, "even the Holy Fathers themselves used to make this claim to dispensation." The new canon disallows the exemption, and decrees that it is not right to break the fast on the fifth day of the last week of Lent.

Canon XXX.—Those priests who served churches among the barbarians, and who thought that on the ground of the narrowness and foreign and unsettled manners of the latter they should abstain (with consent) from intercourse with their wives might do so, on condition that they no longer lived together in any way.

Canon XXXII. states that among the Armenians it was customary in the unbloody sacrifice to offer wine without water, for which practice St. John Chrysostom was quoted.[1] The new canon argues that Chrysostom had been misunderstood, and that what he prohibited was the practice of the *Hydroparastatæ*, who substituted water entirely for wine in the mysteries. It also quotes St. James and St. Basil as having enjoined the practice of mixing water with the wine.

Canon XXXIII.—Among the Armenians, again (following the Jewish custom), none were appointed to the priesthood who were not of priestly families, others again who were even untonsured were appointed to succeed cantors and readers of the law. The canon decrees that in future ordinations the ancestry of a man was not to be considered, but only his fitness.

Canon XXXVI.—This canon renews that of the Council of 150 (*i.e.* the 2nd) which met at Constantinople and that of the 630 at Chalcedon (*i.e.* the 4th) which provided that the see of

[1] Chrys. in Matt. xxvi. 29.

Constantinople should have the like privileges as the see of old Rome, and should be second to it; then should follow in rank the churches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Exception was taken in the West to the clause in this canon according the same privileges to the see of Constantinople which were possessed by that of Rome.

Canon XL. enacts that "no one should be submitted to the yoke of the monastic life before the age of ten, or even older if the bishop deemed it best." It will be remembered that Basil had fixed the age at over seventeen. Similarly, although the Apostle declared that a widow should be elected into the church at sixty, it was now thought that the Church having become stronger, a deaconess might be dedicated at forty.

Canon XLII.—This canon was directed against those who were called "Eremites," who in black robes and with long hair went about cities and associated with worldly men and women and brought odium on their profession. Unless they would receive the habit of other monks and cut their hair short, they were to be shut up in a monastery. If they would not do this, they were to be driven from the cities into the desert (ἐρήμους) whence they derived their name.

Canon LII.—The liturgy of the Pre-sanctified was to be recited on all the days of Lent except the Sabbath (*i.e.* the Lord's day) and the day of the Annunciation.

("It is curious," says Mr. Percival, "that on Good Friday, the only day on which the Mass of the Pre-sanctified is celebrated in the West, its use has died out in the East, and it is now used on the Wednesdays and Fridays of the first six weeks of the great Quadragesima, on the Thursday of the fifth week, and on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Passion week. It may also be said (excepting on Saturdays and Sundays) on the Festival of the Annunciation and on other days during the Fast —to wit, on those of festivals and their vigils, and on the commemoration of the Dedication of the Church."[1])

Canon LIII.—Those who had become sponsors to children were forbidden to marry their mothers (being widows), it being considered that spiritual relation is greater than fleshly affinity. This provision was an adaptation of one in Justinian's code.[2]

Canon LV.—It will be well to give this canon in full. "Since we understand that in the city of the Romans, in the

[1] *Op. cit.* 390. [2] *Cod. de Nuptiis*, 25.

holy fast of Lent, they fast on Saturdays, contrary to the ecclesiastical observance which is traditional, it seemeth good to the holy Synod that in the Church of the Romans also the canon shall immovably stand fast which says: 'If any cleric shall be found to fast on a Sunday or Saturday (except on one occasion only) he is to be deposed, and if a layman he shall be cut off.'" (The canon quoted is the 66th of the Apostolical Canons.)

Canon LVI.—In certain parts of Armenia they were wont to eat cheese and eggs on the Sabbaths and Lord's days of holy Lent. The canon declares it to be good that all the world should follow the same practice in this matter of abstaining from everything killed, and from eggs and cheese, which are the produce of such animals. This shows that the Greeks, although they did not strictly fast on the Saturdays of Lent, yet abstained from flesh, cheese, and eggs.

Canon LVII.—No one should offer honey or milk at the altar.

Canon LVIII.—No one who was a layman should distribute the Divine mysteries to himself if a bishop, priest, or deacon were present, under penalty of being cut off for a week.

Canon LIX. — Baptism should not be administered in oratories built in houses, but only in a Catholic church.

Canon LX.—Whoever should pretend to be possessed by a devil should suffer the same penance and punishment as was meted out to real demoniacs.

Canon LXI.—All who consulted soothsayers, or those called hecatontarchs, or any such, in order to secure revelations, or those who carried about she-bears and other animals for the diversion and injury of the simple,[1] or who told fortunes and genealogies, etc. etc., as well as dispellers of clouds, enchanters, amulet-givers, and soothsayers, were to be thrust out of the Church.

Canon LXII.—This canon is an interesting proof of the late survival of pagan customs, and forbids the so-called Kalends and what are called Bota (*i.e.* feasts in honour of Pan) and Brumalia (in honour of Bacchus), and the full assembly on the first of March, the public dances of women and the dances given in the

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[1] They sold the hair of these bears and other animals for amulets or medicines.

names of those falsely called gods by the Greeks, whether of men or women, and which were performed after an ancient and unchristian fashion. No woman was thenceforward to be dressed as a man, or a man as a woman. Nor should any one assume comic, satyric, or tragic masks, nor invoke the name of the "execrable Bacchus" when they squeezed out the wine in the presses nor when pouring out wine into jars.

Canon LXIII.—This canon forbade the reading in church of spurious lives of martyrs which brought discredit on the Church; such books should be burnt.

Canon LXIV.—A layman should not teach. Zonaras says this canon could only refer to public instruction, and Van Espen adds that in the West this restriction was limited to solemn and public preaching and expounding the Word of God, which were the special function of bishops, and were only extended to other clergy by express licence.

Canon LXV.—This canon prohibits the lighting of fires before their houses and shops at the new moons practised by some people, and followed by the ancient custom of leaping over them.

Canon LXVIII.—This canon prohibits the soiling or cutting up of copies of the Old and New Testament or of other sacred books, or giving them to booksellers or to those called perfumers, etc., unless they had been rendered useless by book-worms, or by water, or some other way; or again, the buying of such books unless for the buyer's use, or to be given away to another for his benefit and not to corrupt them. Van Espen thinks this canon was directed against the practice of some of the Nestorians and Eutychians, who were accused in the sixth century of corrupting certain copies of the New Testament.

Canon LXIX. forbade any layman, except the Emperor when he wished to offer up gifts, to go up to the altar in the sanctuary. This sanctuary was separated off by rails or trellises of stone. The canon says the privilege of the Emperor was according to ancient tradition. Like the English kings, he was looked upon as a *persona mixta* and partly sacerdotal, and was not only anointed with oil but also with the sacred chrism.[1] In the Latin Church not only emperors but kings and great princes, patrons of churches and toparchs of places, and even magistrates, were assigned seats (*honoris causa*) within the sanctuary or choir.

[1] Percival, *op. cit.* 396.

Canon LXXII.—The marriage of a baptized Christian with an unbaptized one was generally deemed to be void. This canon seems to extend the prohibition to baptized heretics. Mr. Percival says: "If this is what the canon means, it elevates heresy into an *impedimentum dirimens*. Such is not and never has been the law of the West, and such is not now the practice of the Eastern Church, which allows the marriage of its people with Lutherans and Roman Catholics." Things have changed since this sentence was written, and the Italian Church seems to have fully adopted the spirit of the canon.

Canon LXXIII. — This canon enjoined veneration (προσκύνησις) in mind, word, and feeling to be offered to the cross. The figures of the cross, which had in some places been put upon the pavement, were ordered to be removed.

Canon LXXIV.—This canon forbids the holding of agapæ or love-feasts and the spreading of couches in churches. The prohibition seems to imply that the practice still continued.

Canon LXXIX.—This canon declares the faith of the Eastern Church on the mode of birth of Christ, the Divine Child, which was naturally qualified by the orthodox view that his mother always remained a virgin, even after the child's birth. Its details show into what an incredible swamp men are led when they try to analyse certain quite unthinkable dogmas.

Canon LXXXII.—This canon is important as marking a new departure of a very important kind. Among the primitive Christians, Christ was not represented by the figure of a man, but symbolically. This symbolical way of representing the God-man of the early Church was now to be replaced by a very anthropomorphic change. "In some pictures of the venerable icons," says this canon, "a lamb is painted to which the Precursor (*i.e.* the Baptist) points his finger, which is accepted as a type of grace. . . . In order, therefore, that that which is perfect may be delineated to the eyes of all, at least in coloured expression, we decree that the figure in human form of the Lamb who taketh away the sin of the world, Christ our God, be henceforth exhibited in images, instead of the ancient lamb."

Canon LXXXIII.—This canon forbids the giving of the Eucharist to the dead. Its interest is in the evidence it affords of such a practice still continuing. It had been forbidden together with the baptism of the dead in the 18th and 20th Canons of the Council of Hippo.

Canon XC.—Following an old canon this one forbids the practice of kneeling at prayers, from vespers on Saturday till compline on Sunday evening. This was in honour of Christ's resurrection. The custom also prevailed for many centuries in the Latin Church.[1]

Canon XCIV. forbade swearing oaths by the gods of the heathen.

Canon XCIX.—In some parts of Armenia it was the custom to boil joints of meat within the sanctuary and to offer portions to the priests, distributing it in the Jewish fashion. In such cases the priest must be content with what was offered to him and not take it violently, and the offering must be made outside the church.

Canon CI.—In receiving the Eucharist, a person should hold his hands in the form of a cross and take it with his mouth, and it was forbidden to receive it in a vessel of gold or other rich material. This had long before been prescribed by St. Cyril[2]: "When thou goest to receive communion," he says, "go not with extended wrists nor with thy fingers separated, but place thy left hand as a throne for thy right, which is to receive so great a thing, and in the hollow of the palm receive the body of Christ, saying Amen."

Canon CII.—Those who have received from God the power to bind and lose should learn to discriminate between the different degrees of the sin before awarding punishment.

From these canons it will be noted how far apart the East and West had already diverged in certain matters of ritual and discipline, and also that the Fathers of this Council had no scruple in affirming the continued obligation of the old ways. We can hardly doubt that the East had the advantage of clinging to an older tradition even where the West showed more foresight.

To return to the history of the Empire. When the Heraclian dynasty came to an end for a short while by the expulsion of Justinian

[1] *Op. cit.* 404. [2] *Catechis. Myst.*, 5.

the Second, the throne was occupied by an Isaurian named Leontius. He reigned for three years only, which were most unfortunate for the State. Lazica and "Varnucion" revolted under the patrician Sergius and went over to the Saracens, who overran Asia Minor. Their greatest success, however, was their final appropriation at this time of the province of Africa. The war was subject to some vicissitudes, but terminated with the definite conquest of the province as far as Tlemcen, and of its two chief cities, "Kairowan" and Carthage, by the Khalif's general, Abdal Malik Musa, who placed garrisons in its various towns. This was in the year 697.[1] It was naturally a serious blow for the Church, and especially for the Western Patriarchate, which not only lost the very rich and profitable province which had been ruled by Cyprian and Augustine, but was also deprived of a large source of income from the estates which the popes had held there. Father Mann in his *History of the Popes* gloats over the virtual destruction of three of the Eastern Patriarchates by the Moslems as a merciful interposition of Providence to secure the greater ascendancy of the Popes. It would hardly have done for him to speak of this further extension of Mohammedan power over the Pope's personal patrimony as well as over his spiritual children as a gift from Heaven. This conquest was followed by that of Morocco, including Tangier and north-western Africa. Two

[1] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 353–354.

years later the Saracens crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, conquered and destroyed the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, and added their rich country, together with Septimania, to the Khalif's wide realm, thus trampling upon what was at the time probably the most cultured, civilised, and progressive part of Europe both in secular matters and in religious ones. This was in 711–712.

Leontius was now deposed, and was succeeded by Apsimar, better known as Tiberius the Third, who faced the Saracens in the East with courage, and re-peopled Cyprus by securing from the Khalif the return of the Cyprians whom the latter had had in bondage. Meanwhile, the exiled ruler Justinian continued to live at Cherson in the Crimea. There he presently intrigued with the great Khan of the Khazars (a race of Huns who had been converted to Judaism), and married his sister. When threatened by the treachery of his host, he with courage and pertinacity made his way to Bulgaria, where the Bulgarian king put a large army of Bulgars and Slavs at his command, with whom he speedily occupied the capital. We are not surprised that he should have meted out dire vengeance on his enemies. His two predecessors on the throne were dragged through the streets in chains and then taken to the circus, where, seated on the imperial chair, Justinian planted his feet on them both, and the facetious populace shouted a verse from the Psalms: "Thou hast trodden on the asp and the basilisk, the lion

and the dragon hast thou trampled underfoot." Both of them were then executed. He then pursued the relatives and supporters of his enemies with pitiless cruelty, blinding, impaling, and otherwise torturing or killing them. This was in 705, after which he held the throne for six years without any serious gain or loss. He was finally deposed, and was put to death by Philippicus, who had prevailed on the whole army to desert him. His little boy Tiberius, says the chronicler Theophanes, "had his throat cut like a sheep," and thus came to an end the famous family of Heraclius. Speaking of these days of anarchy, Mr. Bury says: "Amidst the details which historians record of the elevations and falls of the emperors who appear and vanish so rapidly in scenes of treason and violence, we are apt to lose sight of the steadfast and successful resistance which the Empire never failed to offer to the Saracens. Outlying provinces indeed, like Africa and Sicily, might be doomed to Mohammedan servitude, but ever since the days of Heraclius the main strength of the curtailed Empire was preserved. Had it not been for the able sovereigns and generals of new Rome, the Saracens might have almost Islamised Europe."[1]

The most picturesque incident which happened to the Empire in the vexed reign of Justinian was the visit of the Pope to Constantinople. This I shall turn to later on. Meanwhile, Bardanes, styled Philippicus, who was the son of a patrician

[1] *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 356.

and an Armenian by race, was on the throne. He was a dissipated Sybarite who meant to use Empire he had won as a source of pleasure rather than as exacting any duties. Besides this, like his fellow-countrymen, he remained a Monothelite, and therefore, to many of his subjects, a heretic. He banished the orthodox patriarch Cyrus to a monastery, put a Monothelite named John in his place, and was supported by numerous ecclesiastics, including Andrew, Bishop of Crete, who was under the jurisdiction of the Pope and various notable laymen. The Acts of the Sixth Council were publicly burnt, and the names of the anathematised Monothelites were again inserted in the diptychs. He was repudiated, however, as we shall see, by the Pope. Presently the soldiers tired of his effeminacy, conspired against him, deposed and branded him. This was at Whitsuntide 713. He was succeeded by Artemius, his chief secretary, under the name of Anastasius the Second, who reversed the ecclesiastical policy of his predecessor, and deposing the patriarch John, put in his place Germanus, who had been a Monothelite in the preceding reign, and now became a champion of the other side. These changes of faith in the higher ecclesiastics are not more wonderful than the cynical way in which the patriarchs were deposed and appointed by the emperors at their will.

A man of vigour and energy, Anastasius learnt that the Saracens contemplated another attack on

Constantinople. He at once made preparation, renewed the sea walls, filled the magazines with corn, commanded private persons to lay in a store for three years' use, and prepared a considerable number of machines for firing stones and missiles. The army, however, did not like him. They secured his person by an act of treachery, and deposed him, and he was allowed to withdraw to a monastery. He was replaced by "a stray tax-gatherer" known as Theodosius III., without any qualifications of any kind for a ruler, with perhaps the exception of complacency, and was superseded in 718, after an inglorious reign. We now meet with another of those great men who arose at intervals to save the Empire, a fine soldier and a great ruler, namely, Leo, styled the Isaurian. He was treated, however, as an arch-heretic by the monks and their clients, to whom the empire of the Christian world seemed to be passing, while learning and education were sinking lower and lower into the slough of despond.

Let us now turn shortly to the history of the Popes.

I have in previous pages described the chief events of Agatho's[1] pontificate, so important for the

[1] Agatho's was a good name for the forgers of spurious charters to conjure with. We have several examples among our English documents, all of them spurious (see Introduction). They comprise grants of privileges to St. Augustine's Abbey, to Chertsey, to St. Paul's, London, and to Peterborough (see Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 38, 48, 55, and 56). The only grant of privileges to an English monastery made by Agatho of which we have unimpeachable evidence was that mentioned by Bede (*H.E.*, iv. 18) as having been made at the request of Benedict Biscop (*ante*, ii. 229).

history of the Western Church and having such special interest for Englishmen.[1] In his time the pestilence again ravaged Rome in a way never before experienced, so that whole families were taken to their burial together. Agatho left a donation to the clergy and a large sum of money to provide lights for the Church of the Apostles and that of St. Mary Magdalene. He not improbably died of the pestilence just named, and was buried at St. Peter's on 10th January 681.[2]

On the death of Agatho he was succeeded by Leo, known as the Second, a Sicilian, who was duly installed on 17th August 682. The *Liber Pontificalis* describes him as learned both in Greek and Latin, as skilled in music, and an eloquent preacher. He only had a very short reign of ten months and seventeen days, and was perhaps a victim of the plague.

After his consecration Leo sent the Emperor his adhesion to the decrees of the 6th Council of Constantinople which had condemned the Monothelites. These decrees he carefully translated into Latin. Before the translation was complete, he sent copies of the most important portions of them together with letters, to the King of Spain and to the Spanish bishops. This was doubtless because the Spanish Church, unlike the churches of France and England, had taken no part in Agatho's Synod, nor had it held a Synod of its own to denounce the Monothelites. The Pope's letter to

[1] *Ante*, ii. 21–43.

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 81.

the Spanish Church contained an account of the proceedings of the 6th Council and of its anathemas, notably that against Pope Honorius, and copies of its Acts, and he now invited the bishops to subscribe to them. These letters were followed by the 14th Council of Toledo, which met in November 684, where the conclusions of the 6th Council were confirmed. Leo, in his very short reign, erected the Church of S. George in Velabro, the titular church of Cardinal Newman. It is thus graphically described by Gregorovius. "The building of Leo (the entrance hall is of later date) still preserves its original outlines and is a small basilica of three naves with sixteen ancient granite or marble columns. Scarcely any other church within the city is so pervaded by the atmosphere of early Christian times. The original form of the church —that of a basilica—its simplicity, its sculptures, its inscriptions, some of them in Greek dating from the first centuries of Christianity, its air of spell-bound tranquillity, its situation in the valley between the Capitol and the Palatine hallowed by so many historic associations, combine to form a powerful impression on the mind of the beholder."[1] Leo was buried in St. Peter's on the 3rd July 683. His death day in the Calendar is 28th June 688. A fine tomb was afterwards built for him by Sergius the First in the Church of St. Peter's, to which his body was removed from the cemetery where the Popes had previously been buried,

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 171–2.

which was probably situated in front of the atrium of the Vatican basilica. His was the first papal tomb to be actually placed in the Cathedral itself.[1]

Leo was succeeded on 26th July 684 by a Roman named Benedict the Second. It was probably in his time that the new formulæ for the election of a Pope were published. They are contained in the so-called *Liber Diurnus*. It is specially notable that in this new document every Pope was called upon to condemn Pope Honorius as an "encourager of false doctrines."

At this time also a notable correspondence took place between the Pope and Julian, the Archbishop of Toledo, who was of Jewish origin. The Fathers at Toledo had sent a memoir to the Pope written by their archbishop, entitled, *Liber responsionis fidei nostrae*. Exception was taken at Rome to its orthodoxy; Pope Benedict especially raised exception to the phrase in it, *Voluntas genuit voluntatem*, i.e. "will begets will." Julian, who was a noted patristic scholar, replied that the Pope had misread him or at least misunderstood him, and sent a second memoir in which he showed that he had expressed himself as the Fathers of the Church had done. He was supported in his view by the 15th Council of Toledo, which declared that while in a man it cannot be said that will begets will, in a God with whom will and thought are the same thing, it must be so, and he showed

[1] Gregorovius, *Ital.*, ed. i. 478.

that both Athanasius and Augustine had so expressed themselves.

In the second chapter of the original memoir, Julian had spoken of "three substances in Christ" to which the Pope also objected. The Toledo Council said the Pope was also mistaken in this. "Man's nature, it is true, consists of two substances, body and soul, but in Christ," said the Toledo Fathers, "there is a third substance, namely the Divine nature." This conclusion had, in fact, been drawn by the Spanish Fathers from the words of St. Ambrose and St. Fulgentius, which no one had presumed to attack. They refused, they said, to argue with those who differed from the conclusions of the Fathers, and added that none but ignorant persons could reject their contention. Dom Leclerc adds a caustic sentence to his account of this controversy. He says: "Le pape et ses théologiens n'avaient pas l'habitude d'être ainsi menés 'tambour battant.' La reponse des évêques de Tolède et la deuxième Apologie de Julian les convaincirent que pour cette fois il fallait rendre les armes et rompre la chicane."[1]

What is really of prime importance in this controversy is the absolute proof it affords of how completely the Spanish Church at the end of the seventh century ignored any claims to infallibility in the Pope and corrected his decisions without scruple. To return to Benedict. We read in the *Liber Pontificalis* that the Emperor Constantine conceded to him, together with the clergy and

[1] *L'Espagne Chrétienne*, 352.

people and the army of Rome, that on the election of a Pope, he should proceed to his consecration without delay (*vestigio absque tarditate pontifex ordinetur*). By this, it is clear from subsequent events, was meant that his election should be confirmed by the exarch of Ravenna on behalf of the Emperor and should not wait for a reply from Constantinople. Benedict died, like his predecessor, after a very short tenure of the papacy, namely, ten months and twelve days, perhaps of the plague, and was buried at St. Peter's on 8th May 685.[1]

We now enter upon a succession of Greek Popes whose election is hard to understand unless it means a more direct interference by the exarch than hitherto with their election. The new Pope, known as John the Fifth, was a native of Antioch. He died after a serious illness and was buried in St. Peter's on 3rd August 686. His death was followed by a disputed succession, there having been two candidates for the post, one supported by the soldiery and the other by the people. It was settled by the election of Conon, also a Greek by nation, who was educated in Sicily. Conon only held the see for ten months, and was buried at St. Peter's on 21st September 687.[2] The only notable event of his reign for our purpose was his consecration of St. Kilian, an Irishman, who became the Evangelist of Franconia where he was martyred, as is reported in his Life.

Conon's death was followed by another struggle

[1] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 83. [2] *Ib.*, s.v. "Conon."

for the papacy, which was settled by the exarch after the partisans of one of the candidates, Sergius, had agreed to pay him the 100 lb. of gold which had been promised him by another. This was clearly a simoniacal payment. Sergius sprang from Antioch, but his father had lived in Sicily. At this time Justinian had summoned the so-called Quinisext Council. We have seen how some of its Acts pronounced certain practices which had long prevailed in the West to be irregular and also affirmed the equality in privilege of the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, only conceding the former the Primacy. These clauses were much objected to at Rome, and when they were sent there for the Pope's signature, Sergius refused to affix his name to them on the ground that some of them were not according to the established law of the Church (*extra ritum ecclesiasticarum fuerant*). The Pope would not even have them read, and declared that he would die rather than sign them. The Emperor determined to coerce him, and sent his officials to Rome for the purpose. Justinian's deposition and exile at this time brought the incident to an end.

The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that in the reign of Sergius the schism of "the Three Chapters," which I described at length in my account of Pope Gregory, and which had continued to exist in the archdiocese of Aquileia, came to an end by the joint action of the Pope and the Lombard King, who summoned a Synod at Pavia at which the occu-

pants of the former recalcitrant sees submitted. It was also in the reign of Sergius that the first of the long line of Doges of Venice was elected.

Sergius was not only energetic in defending what he deemed the orthodoxy of the Church, he was also a reformer of its ritual. *Inter alia* he ordered that at the breaking of the Lord's body (*tempore confractionis dominici corporis*) the *Agnus Dei* should be sung by clergy and people. He also decreed that on the days of the Annunciation and the Dormitio (*i.e.* the Assumption and Nativity) of "the holy mother of God and always virgin" (*sanctae dei genetricis semperque virginis*) and of S. Symeon which the Greeks call Ypapanti (*i.e.* the purification), processions singing litanies should proceed from the Church of S. Hadrian to that of S. Mary.[1] Duchesne tells us that this is the first mention of the celebration of these famous festivals in the West. He adds that it is also during the papacy of Sergius we first read of the festival of the exaltation of the Cross.

The Pope was also a great builder and decorator of churches,[2] and the *Liber Pontificalis* enumerates a large number of his rich gifts.

Sergius also had some ties with England and his name was used by some dishonest forgers, as we shall see later on. He was buried at St. Peter's on 8th September 701, and was succeeded after a vacancy of a month and twenty-three days by John, another Greek, who was consecrated on

[1] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 86. [2] *Ib.* i. 381.

30th October 701. He is known as John the Sixth. During his rule at Rome it was visited by Theophylactus, the exarch of Ravenna, on his way north from Sicily. This was very distasteful to the Imperial soldiery in Italy, and the Pope had to shelter and protect the exarch. We have also seen how he very effectually intervened to secure for St. Wilfrid the return of part of his possessions.[1] He was buried at St. Peter's on 11th January 705, and was in turn succeeded by another John, styled the Seventh, who was consecrated on 1st March 705. He was also a Greek, and his father was called Plato, and had been in charge of the imperial palace (*cura palatii*), a post of great dignity. The new Pope was a learned and eloquent man, and his short reign was notable for several reasons. He recovered the papal patrimony among the Cottian Alps which had been confiscated by the Lombards and was now restored by the Lombard king Haripert (called Herebercht by Bede). The conveyance was written in golden letters on purple vellum.

Justinian the Second had recovered his throne at this time and dispatched two metropolitan bishops to receive the new Pope's adhesion to the Acts of the Quinisext Council which had been refused by Pope Sergius. Pope John would not sign them, but refused to condemn them as contrary to the canons. The language of the *Liber Pontificalis* shows that this was not deemed

[1] *Ante*, ii. p. 210, etc.

a very heroic attitude. It says: "*Hic humana fragilitate timidus, hos nequaquam emendans per suprafatos metropolitas direxit ad principem.*" Pope John also restored the mother monastery of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino which had been destroyed by the Lombards in 601 and had been for more than a century in ruins, during which its monks had lived at St. Erasmo on the Caelian Hill.[1]

He also especially cherished the cult of the Virgin, and in her honour he built a famous chapel in St. Peter's, known as that of "*S. Mariae ad praesepe*," upon which he spent much money, and which was afterwards looked upon as the finest monument of the time. It has been well described by Gregorovius. He also cherished a basilica of the Virgin (whose son he specially calls himself in the dedication).[2] This was known as *antiqua*, or the old. In it he placed some pictures, a new pulpit, and a golden chalice decorated with gems, and over them he built himself a new episcopal palace (*Episcopium*).[3] The remains of these buildings have been discovered and explored by the British School of Archæology at Rome, and they are very interesting relics of the period we are dealing with. The notable thing about the churches erected at this time at Rome is the prominence given in them to Greek saints. The succession of Greek Popes at the time no doubt had a great effect in influencing

[1] Gregorovius, i. 483.
[2] *Joannes indignus episcopus fecit beatae Dei Genitricis servus.*
[3] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 88.

Roman ritual and of also very notably encouraging the cult of the Virgin, which now became very much more developed in the West. We have seen that the first record of the four great festivals of the Virgin belongs to this time, and John the Seventh's monuments afford ample proof of the way in which the Virgin Mother, so much adored by the Eastern monks, now began to figure widely in the paintings and mosaics of Rome. Among the treasures placed by him in his chapel was the famous Sudarium of St. Veronica,[1] where it was preserved in a marble tabernacle. He died on October 707, and was buried in St. Peter's in front of the altar of the Virgin. His epitaph merely states that he was "her servant."

His successor, Sisinnius, a Syrian, only lived a month after his accession, and was buried in St. Peter's. He was succeeded by Constantine, another Syrian, who was consecrated on 25th March 708. Constantine was summoned by the Emperor to visit him at Constantinople, an invitation he accepted; and it must have been a notable event when the Western patriarch made such a journey. He was accompanied by two bishops, three priests, and one deacon, who was no other than the later Gregory the Second, and by some of the great officials of the Roman See. When he reached the seventh milestone from Constantinople, the Emperor's son Tiberius, with the patricians and officials, accompanied by Cyrus the patriarch

[1] Gregorovius, i. 482 and 483.

and a crowd of clergy and laity, met him. The Pope and his chief officers were seated on richly caparisoned horses from the imperial stables which wore *mappulae* (*i.e.* white horse-cloths),[1] the Pope wearing his headgear called *camelaucus*.[2]

Thus they proceeded to the palace of Placidia (the papal embassay at Constantinople), where the *apocrisiarii* resided. The Emperor wrote to ask him to go to meet him at Nicomedia. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Justinian with his crown on his head prostrated himself and kissed the feet of the Pontiff, which seems an incredible statement considering what deference the emperors demanded from the higher clergy at this time. The two then embraced, and the Emperor renewed all the privileges of his Church (*omnia privilegia ecclesiae renovavit*). Nothing is here said about any undertakings on the other side. The Pope now set off on his return, and arrived safely at Gaeta, where he was met by a multitude of the clergy and people. Three months later news arrived that the "Most Christian and orthodox Emperor" (the Pope thus styles one of the most ruthless rulers in history) was dead, and that "the heretic Philippicus" had succeeded him.[3] His accession was followed by the public burning of the Acts of the Sixth Council, while the names of the anathematised Monothelites were replaced

[1] Howorth, *Gregory the Great*, p. 57.

[2] This word is thus glossed by Ducange: "*capitis integumentum, et pilei genus ex camelorum pilis confectum unde nomen.*"

[3] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 90.

in the diptychs in the churches. The *sacra* or letter intimating his accession which he sent to Rome was declared to be qualified by false doctrine (*pravi dogmatis exaratione*), and the Pope with a Synod refused to honour it. Meanwhile, at Rome everybody was recalcitrant; instead of the imperial image which it was usual to place in St. Peter's at an emperor's succession, the picture called "Botarea" by the Greeks, which contained the Acts of the sixth œcumenical council, was set up in the great church. The people insisted that the Emperor's name should be omitted from the official documents, and from the Mass.[1] Not long after, news arrived from Sicily that Philippicus had been succeeded as Emperor by Anastasius, and the exarch of Ravenna came to Rome bearing with him the letters of the new Emperor affirming his adhesion to the six councils.

The rule of Constantine as Pope was also coincident with the arrival of two English sovereigns (*duo reges Saxonum*) with many other people who had gone to Rome to end their lives.[2] We shall have more to say of them presently. He was buried at St. Peter's on 9th April 715, and was succeeded as Pope by Gregory the Second, who was a Roman by birth, and who was the first really notable personality who had filled the papal chair since his namesake. He was made subdeacon and treasurer (*sacellarius*) of the Holy See by Pope Sergius, and afterwards, according to the

[1] *Lib. Pont.*, ch. 90. [2] *Ib.*

Liber Pontificalis, he became librarian of the papal library and was made deacon. It also tells us that he was chaste, learned in the Scripture, and a good speaker. The more important part of his career was devoted to his fight with the great Isaurian breaker of images, the Emperor Leo, which was not undertaken, however, until after he had been Pope for ten years, and therefore after the period to which I am limiting myself in this book. In the first year of his reign he began the repair of the walls of Rome in view of the threatening attitude of the Lombards, which was probably stopped by a great overflow of the Tiber that took place at the time. The most important events in the Pope's early life were his dealings with the English missionary to Germany, Bishop Boniface, and his reception of two other English kings at Rome, of which we shall have more to say presently. We will now return again to England.

Theodore the Archbishop held two positions. He was Bishop of East Kent with his see at Canterbury and Metropolitan of England with the style of Archbishop, but we must always remember that his see of Kent was his special charge. It is important, therefore, to realise the condition that Kent was in at this time. It had indeed passed through some hard days. On the death of its king Eadric, after a short reign of one and a half years, it became, as we have seen, a prey to anarchy and was especially ill-used by the kings of Wessex—Caedwalla and Ini. It

was to prevent it passing definitely under the power of the great enemies of his house, the kings of Wessex, that Æthelred of Mercia apparently intervened and secured the overlordship of Kent, of which he seems to have given a portion to Suaebhard, a scion of the royal house of Essex, which was dependent on him. This may have been the petty kingdom of Surrey, once a part of Kent. I shall have more to say of him presently. The rest of Kent was ruled by Wihtred, or Wictred, the son of Ecgberht and brother of Eadric (its former kings). Kent seems to have remained under this joint rule for some time, and to have been so when Theodore died. It seems probable that a year or two later Wihtred became sole King of Kent.[1] Bede expressly tells us that after the kingdom had for some time been in a state of anarchy under foreign and illegitimate kings, the legitimate king, Wihtred, being firmly settled on the throne, by his piety and solicitude freed his people from foreign invasion.[2] In 694, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he made peace with King Ini and agreed to pay a large wergild for the murder of the latter's brother Mul.[3] In the appendix to Florence of Worcester he is said to have built the Church of St. Mary in Dover Castle. The remains of the church do not bear out this date, and point to a considerably later building. Nothing is said about it by Bede or in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 284. [2] *H.E.*, iv. 26. [3] *Op. cit. sub. an.*

It is curious that Bede should have so little to say of Wihtred, for beside the two statements above named he only mentions his name once, and that is to record his death, although he had ruled over the important kingdom of Kent for so long. He tells us that he died on the 23rd of April 725, after reigning for thirty-four years and a half, leaving three sons, Æthelberht, Eadberht, and Alric,[1] of whom the first succeeded him. In Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* we have seven professed grants from Wihtred as King of Kent, numbered 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 47. Of these 37, 39, 41, 42 and 44 (all derived from the same MS.), are marked with an asterisk as spurious by Kemble: 43 and 47 are alone considered genuine by him. It is noticeable that they are all dated in the first years of Wihtred's reign. Number 43 is dated in July 697, and is a grant of four ploughlands (*aratrorum*) called Wieghelmestun to the basilica dedicated to the Virgin at Lyminge, as far as its boundaries called Bereueg and Meguinespæd and Stretleg. It is attested by Berichtwald (*sic*) the Archbishop, by Wihtred himself, and his queen Ædilburga, and by a number of lay witnesses.

The second document professes to grant to the same basilica at Lyminge, what are described as four neighbouring ploughlands, named Pleghelmestun, as far as the boundaries mentioned in the previous deed; and some other lands called Ruminingseta, capable of pasturing 300 sheep, and situated

[1] *Bede*, v. 23–24.

on the south of the river called the Liminæa, "whose bounds were so well known to the neighbours that it was not necessary to state them." This is signed by the same witnesses.[1] It is dated by the indiction in which XIII. seems to have been substituted for VII. In both cases there is a label in Anglo-Saxon. As I have tried to show, in the Introduction, the so-called code of Kentish laws of Wihtred preserved in the *Codex Roffense* as well as the privileges of Wihtred to Kentish churches are probably spurious.

Let us now return to the Archbishop.

The successor of Theodore in the See of Canterbury was an Englishman, and the first of the race who filled the position. In his *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bede calls him Berhtwald both in his text and in the recapitulation,[2] while he is called Brihtwald in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the same work.[3] In MS. A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he is called Beorhtwald, while the other MSS. call him Brihtwald, which is the form of the name adopted by Haddan and Stubbs.

Bede tells us that he had been the abbot of the monastery situated at the northern outlet of the Genlade named Racuulfe (*i.e.* Reculver). He says he was imbued with the science of Scripture and most instructed in ecclesiastical as well as monastic discipline, although he could not be compared with his predecessor (*tametsi praedecessori suo minime comparandus*).

[1] The Archbishop's name, however, is written Berhtuuald.
[2] *Bede*, v. 8. [3] *Vide* page 621 in Smith's edition.

He says nothing of Beorhtwald's origin, but inasmuch as he was promoted from being an abbot straight into the archiepiscopal chair, that he was the first Englishman to be made an archbishop, and that at this time it had become the fashion for royal and other great personages to take "orders," it may be pardonable to surmise that he was, in fact, a high-born person and perhaps no other than a nephew of the same name of Æthelred, King of Mercia and overlord of Kent. The latter is not referred to by Bede, but is mentioned by Æddi as having been a prefect under Æthelred. He tells us that he befriended St. Wilfrid, and offered him hospitality when driven from Northumbria, and gave him part of his own estate on which to build a monastery. This shows him to have been a godly man. We must remember that his uncle, King Æthelred, also afterwards entered a monastery, while the name he himself bore in common with the archbishop was an uncommon one. The fact that Mercia then dominated southern England, including Kent, would also make it convenient that the archbishop should be a Mercian prince if one was available.

There is extant a notable charter relating to Abbot Beorhtwald, being the earliest one concerning Britain, which remains intact in its original form and text and is not a copy. It is dated May 679, and by it Hlothaere, King of the Kent-men, conveys a certain property called Westanae, situated in the Isle of Tenet (*i.e.* Thanet), with all its appurtenances, to Abbot "Berctuald," and his men-

astery, with the consent of Archbishop Theodore and of "Edric" (*i.e.* Eadric), his brother's son, and all his grandees (*omnium principum*). On the same day the same king conveyed to him a further property at Sturia, as defined by himself and his deputies "*procuratoribus meis*." The original charter is in the British Museum.[1]

Bede says, as we have seen, that Abbot Beorhtwald was elected to the see of Canterbury on the 1st of July 692, when Wihtred and Suaebhard were reigning in Kent, and that he was ordained the year following, on the 29th of January 693.

He was not consecrated in England. It is probable that Gebmund of Rochester was then dead, and perhaps no other English bishop was conveniently available. It is possible, on the other hand, that owing to the recent controversies with Wilfrid and otherwise, he wished to give himself special prestige, so he had himself consecrated by Godwin, styled "the Metropolitan of the Gauls."[2] This Godwin was not Archbishop of Arles, as might have been thought from his designation, but was Archbishop of Lyons from 693–713,[3] and his name points to his having been an Englishman. Ralph of Diss calls him "Bregwin *alias* Godwin,"[4] which is clearly a mistake. It is

[1] *Cott. Augustus*, ii. 9; British Museum Facsimiles, i. 1. Kemble, No. 16.

[2] *Bede*, v. 8.

[3] *Gallia Christiana*, iv. 50. He is so named according to Duchesne in the Sacramentary of Lyons.

[4] *Angl. Sacr.*, ii. 680.

curious that in the *Liber Pontificalis* we are told he was ordained by Pope Sergius (*Hic ordinavit Bertoaldum Britanniae archiepiscopum*).[1] We cannot reconcile this statement with that in Bede. Duchesne suggests that the word "ordinavit" here meant making him a metropolitan by conferring on him the pall, and he quotes a precedent in the case of Pope Stephen the Second and Chrodagang of Metz, who had been long a bishop, when the Pope is said to have ordained him. Beorhtwald's enthronement took place on the 31st of August 693.

William of Malmesbury, who published a series of spurious documents about the supremacy of Canterbury, gives us two, in one of which Pope Sergius is made to commend the new archbishop to the solicitude of Æthelred, Aldfrid, and Aldulf, Kings of Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia, whom he refers to collectively as *Reges Anglorum*; while in the other he similarly commends him to the bishops of Britain (*universis Episcopis per Britanniam*).[2] These documents are clearly spurious. They are not mentioned by Bede, nor is it at all likely that Sergius knew of the election of Beorhtwald, at least until later. Nor did Beorhtwald need such an introduction. Haddan and Stubbs and other writers have treated them as questionable, and classed them with the statement of Gervase of Tilbury[3] that Beorhtwald received the pall from

[1] *Op. cit. Vit. Sergii.*

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 52; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 229–231.

[3] Twysden, col. 1640.

Pope Vitalian. He may, however, have received it from his successor.

Bede says that Beorhtwald was enthroned on 31st August 693. The first thing recorded of him as bishop was his consecration of Tobias as Bishop of Rochester in the place of Gebmund.[1] He does not give the date of this, which is placed in 693 by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[2]

Tobias had been a pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, and Bede calls him very learned (*doctissimus*). In one place, he says he was highly skilled in the Greek, Latin and Saxon languages and learning.[3] It would be interesting to know more exactly what Bede meant by being skilled in the Saxon language and learning. In another place he says he was endowed with literary learning, both ecclesiastical and general, and was as familiar with Greek and Latin as if they had been his own tongues. Tobias died in 726 and was buried in "the porticus" or chapel of St. Paul the Apostle,

[1] *H.E.*, v. 8.

[2] This, as Mr. Plummer says, is probably a mere inference from the fact that Bede puts it immediately after the consecration of Beorhtwald in that year.

The forgeries relating to this period of our history are literally appalling. Among them one has misled all previous inquirers—I mean that dealing with the conferring of privileges by Wihtred, King of Kent, on the churches of that kingdom, and which is reported in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as having been granted in the beginning of the reign of Wihtred, at a great Synod held at Baccancelde, which has been identified by some with Bapchild, near Sittingbourne in Kent, *i.e.* about 694-696. At this Synod the Archbishop is said to have been present. No such Synod is known to Bede, and I believe it to be fabulous. I have discussed the question in the Introduction.

[3] *Op. cit.* v. 8.

which he had built for his own burial-place in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew (at Rochester).[1] He was succeeded by Aldwulf who was consecrated by Archbishop Beorhtwald.

In the preamble to the supposed laws of King Wihtred, a document about which I have grave doubts,[2] and which is dated in the fifth year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, *circa* 697–699, Beorhtwald the Archbishop is named among those who were present at the Witan[3] where they were enacted.

According to Æddi, Beorhtwald with other bishops took part in 702–3 in the great Synod held in Northumbria at which Wilfrid was condemned, deposed, and stripped of his possessions.[4] Florence of Worcester tells us that in 705 he consecrated Aldhelm as Bishop of Sherburne. This was performed at Canterbury.[5]

In a letter dated by Haddan and Stubbs about the middle of 705,[6] Waldhere, Bishop of London, writes to the Archbishop asking him to intervene in a quarrel which had arisen between Ini, the King of the West Saxons, and the rulers of the East Saxons (*nostrae patriae regnatores*) in which the fortunes of the Church were being injured, and so as to secure a peaceable settlement. A conference had been arranged between the parties which was to meet at Breguntford (*i.e.* Brentford), to which the kings on either side, and the

[1] *Bede*, v. 23.
[2] See Introduction.
[3] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 233.
[4] Æddi, 46–49.
[5] *M.H.B.*, 539.
[6] *Op cit.* p. 274.

bishops, and abbots were summoned in order that the matter should be arranged. The question in dispute was the surrender of some West Saxon exiles. Coenred was then King of Mercia.[1]

In the year 706 Faricius, the biographer of St. Aldhelm, tells us that a Synod was held probably in the country of the West Saxons (he says *Saxonium Orientalis plagae*, but query *Occidentalis*) for the conversion of the Britons to the orthodox views about Easter.[2] He does not give the name of the place where it was held, nor is it mentioned in Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius which was a product of this Synod. He says, however, that it was a Council of Bishops from almost all Britain, and was further attended by a great mass of priests.[3] It is possible that the Archbishop was a prime mover in the summoning of this Council. Aldhelm, however, was the principal figure there, and I shall reserve an account of it for a later page.

On the 9th of January 708 the career of a notable figure in the growth of education in England came to an end by the death of Abbot Hadrian of St. Augustine's Monastery. We have seen how he co-operated with Archbishop Theodore in his evangelistic and other work.[4] Bede speaks of his skill in Greek and Latin and of his wide knowledge of ecclesiastical and secular learning.[5] I have previously quoted the very short sentence

[1] The original charter is preserved in Cott. Augustus II. 18 and is reproduced in British Museum Facsimiles, part 1, plate 5.

[2] Giles, *Aldhelmi Op.* 363, etc.

[3] *Ib.* 83.

[4] *Ante*, ii. 145.

[5] *Op. cit.* iv. 1.

in which he describes the kind of curriculum prescribed by Hadrian and his master.[1] The Anglo-Saxon version of the great Church historian translates the sentence into picturesque phraseology. It thus enumerates the subjects of study, "in metarcraeft and in tungolcraeft, and in grammatiecraeft in metricraft and in starcraft and in grammarcraft."[2]

It is much to be deplored that we have no further light than is contained in these few words in regard to the methods of teaching and the discipline which prevailed in Hadrian's schools at Canterbury. I say schools, because it seems to be fairly well established that at this time there were two kinds of schools in England, as elsewhere, namely, schools for teaching literature and learning, and secondly, singing schools. In both cases I am disposed to think they were meant for the training of ecclesiastics, and we have no evidence that they were attended by others than those who contemplated a religious career. They answered rather to seminary and choir schools than to any later type of grammar school.

We may probably gather a little more about the curriculum which was current at Hadrian's Canterbury school from that described by Alcuin as having been employed at York half a century later, where he himself was at school under Albert, who, from being its schoolmaster, was presently promoted to be Archbishop of York.

[1] *Ante*, ii. 145. [2] Plummer, ii. p. 205.

This, Alcuin tells us, included grammar, rhetoric, law, poetry, astronomy, and natural philosophy, the last two were no doubt very far from the subjects so named now.

Although Bede does not give us many details about the kind of teaching fostered by Hadrian and his master Theodore, he does give us a goodly list of their scholars, and one of them, St. Aldhelm, has left us samples in his own works of the training he had received at Canterbury. We may, however, exaggerate this, for a good deal which was characteristic of him seems to have come from his Irish master. I will postpone an account of this till I deal with Aldhelm in a later page. The really important new element introduced by Hadrian into the schools of these islands was the teaching of Greek. In other matters the great Irish schools had little if anything to learn, and it was doubtless in pursuit of a knowledge of Greek that Irish scholars crowded to Canterbury, as described by Aldhelm, to hear Theodore and Hadrian. In his letter to Eahfrid he speaks rather petulantly, and with pique, about the numbers of English students who in summer repaired to the Irish schools. His turgid Latin has been well reflected in Bishop Browne's translation: "As though here on the fertile turf of Britain, teachers of Greek and Roman cannot be found, who, solving the severe problems of the celestial library, are able to unlock them to inquiring smatterers . . . Britain, placed, if you

like to say so, at almost the extreme margin of the western clime of the orb, possesses, as it were, the flame-bearing sun and the lucid moon; that is to say Theodore the Archbishop, grown old from the earliest childhood of rudiments in the flower of philosophic art, and Adrian, his companion in the brotherhood of learning, ineffably endowed with pure urbanity." Aldhelm then goes on to describe the Irish students who came over to hear Theodore. He was, he says, "densely surrounded by a crowd of Irish disciples, who grievously badgered him (*globo discipulorum stipetur*) as the truculent boar was hemmed in by a snarling pack of Molossian hounds. He tore them with the tusk of grammar, and pierced them with the deep and sharp syllogisms of chronography, till they cast away their weapons and hurriedly fled to the recesses of their dens."[1] There are three charters claiming to contain grants to Abbot Hadrian,[2] of which only the first is accepted as genuine by Kemble.[3] This is dated in 686, and is a conveyance of certain lands in Kent, being a part of his own demesne (*terram juris mei*), made with the consent of his "patricians" by King Eadric to St. Augustine's Abbey.[4] Another document associated with the name of Hadrian, which is also probably spurious, is a grant of privileges attributed to Pope Adeodatus.[5]

Abbot Hadrian, according to Bede, died in the

[1] Giles, *Aldhelmi Op.*, p. 94; Browne, *Aldhelm*, 263–264.
[2] Kemble, 27, 30, and 41; Birch, 67, 73, and 90.
[3] See Introduction.
[4] *Vide ante*, ii. p. 115.
[5] *Vide ante*, ii. 51.

year 710, but Mr. Plummer seems to show it was probably in 709.[1] He was buried in his own monastery in the Church of the Virgin there (*ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis*) forty-one years after he was sent to England with Theodore by Pope Vitalian.[2] Thorn tells us his remains were afterwards translated to the greater church (*in majorem ecclesiam*) and placed in the wall behind the altar of St. Gregory. Gocelin says the coffin (rather, the tomb) was dragged to its new site by forty men. The translation of his remains was made by Abbot Wido in the time of Lanfranc. His death-day is entered in the Roman Martyrology on the 9th of January. Thomas of Elmham gives his epitaph as follows:

> "Qui legis hos apices, Adriani pignora dices
> Hoc sita sarcophago sua nostro gloria pago.
> Hic decus abbatum, patriae lux, vir probitatum,
> Subvenit a coelo, si corde rogetur anhelo."[3]

Among other miraculous stories about Hadrian two relate to schoolboys, and are preserved by Capgrave. In one he mentions how a boy was saved from whipping in consequence of having fled to Hadrian's tomb. The master's whip is graphically described as made *ex duro corio triplicater intortum, singulis corriguis nodates in extremum*, i.e. as made of hard leather in a triple plait with knotted shoe ties at the ends. A similar

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. p. 329. [2] *Bede*, v. 20.

[3] *Op. cit.* 293. It is a curious fact that no biography of so famous a man as Hadrian can be found in the *Dict. of Christian Biography*.

story is told of St. Dunstan.[1] When the boy appealed to the saint for protection the master's uplifted arm was suddenly paralysed and its use was only recovered on the appeal of the victim. In the other story the master was going to beat the boy, even when holding on to the saint's resting-place, when a white pigeon appeared in the church and spreading its wings gently alighted on the tomb and asked pity for the boy, at which the master was frightened and fled. The pigeon then rose to the roof and escaped.[2]

Thorn also tells a pretty story how on one occasion St. Dunstan saw a vision in the Church of the Virgin, within the precincts of St. Augustine's Abbey, in which she appeared singing with a choir of angels, conducted by St. Hadrian, and they sang *Cantemus Domino*, etc. "Happy man," says Thorn, "who was worthy to see such things; happy place in which such a vision appeared."[3]

Hadrian was succeeded as Abbot of St. Augustine's by his scholar, Albinus, an Englishman whose "benediction" took place on 22nd April 708. Bede says he was so well instructed in the study of Scripture that he knew the Greek tongue in no small degree and Latin as thoroughly as he knew English which was his native language.[4] He persuaded Bede to write his great history of

[1] Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 403. See Gocelin, *Acta Sanct.*, i. 595.
[2] *Acta Sanct.*, vol. i., 1st January. [3] *Twysden*, 1780, etc.
[4] *Op. cit.* v. 20.

the Church, in the preface to which the latter says that the principal author and assistant (*auctor ante omnes atque adjutor*) in this work had been the Abbot Albinus, a most reverend and most learned man in all things. "He had been educated in the Church of Canterbury by Archbishop Theodore of pious memory and Abbot Hadrian, most venerable men, and knew all things which had been done in the province of the Kent men, as well as in the neighbouring regions, from the disciples of Pope Gregory, as well from literary documents and the tradition of the elders. He had transmitted as much of this information as he deemed worthy to be recorded, by Nothelm, a religious priest of London who had either sent it in writing or conveyed it to himself *viva voce*."[1] A letter is extant in which Bede conveys his thanks to Abbot Albinus for the information and the small gifts (*munuscula*) which he had sent him by Nothelm, and adds that his correspondent had incited him to write his great work, which he proposed to send him when complete, for transcription (*mox ut consummare potui, ad transcribendum remisi*), as well as a second volume which Albinus had apparently also persuaded him to write, namely, his work on the structure of the temple of Solomon and its allegorical explanation, and which he had recently finished. I prefer to give the tender words in which Bede concludes this letter with the flavour of the original Latin: "*Teque, amantissime pater,*

[1] *Op. cit.*, preface.

supplex obsecro, ut pro mea fragilitate cum his, qui tecum sunt, famulis Christi apud pium Judicem sedulus intercedere memineris; sed et eos, ad quos eadem nostra opuscula pervenire feceris, hoc idem facere monueris. Bene vale, semper amantissime in Christo pater optime."[1]

Thomas of Elmham tells us that Albinus died in 732, and that he was buried near Abbot Hadrian in the Church of the Virgin. His remains were afterwards, in the time of Lanfranc, translated by Abbot Wido and placed in the wall behind St. Gregory's altar in the bigger church of the Monastery.[2] He had been abbot for thirty-two years, and was succeeded by Abbot Northbald.

Returning to Archbishop Beorhtwald, we find among the epistles of Boniface in Jaffé's *Mon. Mag.* 7, one addressed by him to Fortheri, Bishop of Sherborne, supporting the request of a man called Eppa for the release of the latter's sister who had been kept in bondage (*captivae puellae*) by Beorwald, Abbot of Glastonbury, and offering a ransom of 300 solidi for her ransom, in order that she might spend the rest of her life among her relations instead of in slavery. The letter is not dated, but its date is fairly fixed by Haddan and Stubbs between 709 and 712.[3]

Beorhtwald died on the 13th of January 731, the year in which Bede concluded his history, after having been Archbishop for thirty-seven and a

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, i. 3. [2] Thomas of Elmham, 301.
[3] *Op. cit.* 284.

half years, and was succeeded by Tatwine.[1] He was buried beside his predecessor Theodore in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul; the chapel containing the earlier archbishops being full.[2] Thomas of Elmham has recorded his epitaph as follows:

> "Stat sua laus feretro, Brithuualdi stat sua metro,
> Sed minor est metri laus omnis laude feretri,
> Laude frequentandus pater hic, et glorificandus;
> Si prece flectatur, dat ei qui danda precatur."[3]

Let us now turn to the story of the Church in the other English kingdoms south of the Humber from the point to which we had previously traced it. The use of the term Heptarchy has much confused popular notions on our history. At this time, and for a long time before and after, England really consisted of two great powers —Northumbria and Mercia; the other members of the so-called Heptarchy, except, perhaps, Wessex, being completely dominated by Mercia, which was ruled, like Northumbria, by a succession of vigorous kings. Its founder Penda was succeeded by his son Wulfhere, who largely organised it; and he by his brother Æthelred, a picturesque person, whose vicissitudes we should like to have known more about. I have already described the earlier part of his reign,[4] in which he mainly appears as a strong fighting man. In the latter part of it we chiefly find him building monasteries and churches. It is a serious loss to us that Bede should have almost

[1] *Bede*, v. 23 and 24.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 3.
[3] *Op. cit.* 300.
[4] *Ante*, ii. 41–42, 87–88, 113–114.

entirely neglected the ecclesiastical doings of Mercia at this time, and we have to piece the story together from authorities of inferior value.

In the year 704 Æthelred, overtaken by the religious fervour of the times (which was causing so many men with great responsibilities to lay them down and become monks), and probably also moved by the recent murder of his wife, resigned the throne of the Mercians to Coenred,[1] and entered his own special monastery of Bardney. There he presently became abbot, and as abbot he received Wilfrid with favour on his return from Rome, and counselled his successor Coenred to treat him kindly.[2] The *Gloucester Chronicle* says that he died in 716.

A number of charters professing to be grants by Æthelred are extant, but they are chiefly spurious. Those numbered 22, 23, 33, 34 by him, and the confirmation of a grant by Caedwalla, are in fact all marked as false by Kemble (see Introduction).

When Wulfhere the Mercian king died, his son Coenred was only a boy, and in accordance with the practice of the Teutonic races, his brother Æthelred succeeded him. On Æthelred's resignation Coenred became the next heir to the throne, to which he succeeded in the year 704.[3]

Bede tells an interesting story about him, vividly illustrating, like the visions of St. Fursey previously cited, the eschatology then prevalent in England. Mr. J. Stevenson has translated the saga

[1] *Bede*, v. 24. [2] *Op. cit.* v. 19. [3] *Bede*, v. 24.

in a pleasant way, which I cannot improve upon. "It happened," he says, "in the province of the Mercians there was one whose visions and words (but not his behaviour) were advantageous to others, but not to himself. He lived in the time of Coenred, who reigned after Ethelred, and was a layman in a military employment, not less acceptable to the King for his industry than displeasing to him for his private neglect of himself. The King pressed him to confess and amend, unless by sudden death he should lose all the time of repentance and amendment. He despised this counsel, and promised that he would do penance on another occasion. Meanwhile he was taken ill, and was visited by the King, who again urged him before death to repent of his offences. He replied that he would not do so then, but after he had recovered, lest his companions should charge him with doing for fear of death what he had refused to do when well. These brave words only proved he had been beguiled by the Devil. The disease having increased, he was again visited by the King, and cried out to him with a lamentable voice: 'What will you have now? What are you come for? for you can no longer save me.' The King bade him behave as a man should who was in his right mind. 'I am not mad,' he replied, 'but I have all my guilt now before my eyes. Not long ago two beautiful youths came into this house, one stood at my head and the other at my feet. One of them produced a splendid

book, but very small, and gave it to me to read. Looking into it I found all the good actions I had done in my life written down, and they were very few and small. They took back the book, saying nothing to me. Then appeared an army of wicked and hideous spirits, encompassing the house without, and almost filling it within. One of them who by the blackness of his dismal face and his sitting above the rest seemed to be their chief, taking out a book, horrible to look at, of prodigious size and insufferable weight, commanded one of his followers to bring it to me to read. Therein I found all the crimes I had ever committed plainly written in black characters, not only in word and deed but also in idea and thought. Then he said to the bright beings who sat beside me, "Why sit here? You know this man is ours." They answered, "You are in the right; take him and add him as an accession to your own damnation." Thereupon they vanished, and two very wicked spirits rose with ploughshares in their hands. One struck me on the head and the other on the foot. Their strokes are now penetrating with great torture through my bowels to the centre of my body, and when they meet I shall die, and I shall be dragged into the chambers of hell.'

"Thus did the wretch talk in his despair, and, dying soon after, he is now in vain, suffering eternal torments and that penance which he refused to suffer for a short time here that he might obtain forgiveness." "As Pope Gregory says," con-

tinues Bede (referring to the *Dialogues*, IV., chapters xxxi. and xxxii.), "this man did not see these things for his own sake, for they availed him nothing, but for the instruction of those who, knowing of his death, should fail to repent while they had leisure, and by sudden death be taken away impenitent. . . . It is to be observed, he added, that in his childhood he did some good actions, all which he nevertheless obscured by the evil deeds of his youth. If he had employed his youth in correcting the errors of his childhood he might have been associated with those of whom the Psalmist says 'Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are hidden' (Psalm xxxi. 1)."

This story Bede claims to have heard from Bishop Pecthelm.[1]

Coenred was clearly a man whose heart was not in a royal palace but in a monastery, and he, in fact, only sat on the throne for five years. Bede says of him, "When he had very nobly governed the kingdom of the Mercians for some time, he did a much more noble act by quitting the throne of his kingdom and going to Rome. There he received the tonsure, Constantine being then Pope, and there he became a monk at the throne of the Apostles, and continued in prayers, fastings, and almsgiving."

With him went a son of Sighere, King of the East Saxons, who was called Offa. As we shall see, the two Royal persons were probably accompanied

[1] *Bede*, v. 13.

by Ecgwin, the Bishop of Worcester.[1] The only records purporting to be connected with the name of Coenred are two forged grants of land made to Bishop Ecgwin among the Evesham Charters.[2] His resignation took place in the year 709.[3]

Coenred left no brother or son, and was accordingly succeeded by his cousin Ceolred, the son of Æthelred. This was in 709.[4] Æddi tells us that, according to Wilfrid's own report, he had promised to put his life under the direction of himself (*omnem vitam suam meo judicio disponere*),[5] and the Bishop was on his way to have an interview with the young King when he died in the very year of the latter's accession. With his death, Ceolred apparently gave way to dissipation, as did his contemporary, Osred of Northumbria. St. Boniface, in a letter to King Æthelbald, says: "The privileges of the Church remained inviolate until the days of Ceolred, King of Mercia, and Osred, King of Deira and Bernicia. These two kings, pursued by a diabolical instinct, publicly committed the greatest sins in the Anglian provinces against the evangelical and apostolical precepts of our Saviour. They spent their days in ravishing nuns, in committing adultery and robbing monasteries, and at last, condemned by the just judgment of God, they were hurled down from their royal pinnacles and

[1] See Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 540.
[2] Kemble, 60 and 61.
[3] *Bede*, v. 19.
[4] *Ib.*
[5] *Op. cit.* ch. 63.

died an immature and terrible death, excluded from eternal light and submerged in the depths of hell and *Tartarus*. Ceolred, as was reported by those who were present, perished suddenly when rioting with his grandees (*comites*) at a splendid banquet, pursued by the malignant spirit which drove him to condemn the faith of Christ and caused him to go mad (*peccantem subito in insaniam mentis convertit*). Without penance and confession, demented, distracted, discoursing with devils, and despising the priests of God, he went from this light, without doubt, to infernal torment."[1] St. Boniface in a letter written about 717 to Milburga the abbess of Much Wenlock, about a vision reported by a monk of that abbey recently dead, says that the monk had foreseen the fate of Ceolred in the next world, where he had secured a canopy (*umbraculum*) to protect him from the swarming fiends who claimed him as their own for the many evil things he had done in this life and eventually secured his incarceration in the nethermost hell, where they continually tormented him. It is notable that Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who was perhaps possessed of a safer tradition and not so prejudiced as a monk was likely to be, speaking of Ceolred, says, "*patriae et avitae virtutis haeres clarissime rexit.*" This report is more consistent with the King's having been a protégé of St. Wilfrid. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he, in 715, fought a

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 355.

battle with Ini, King of Wessex, at "Wodnesbeorh," identified by Camden with Wanborough, near Swindon, in North-East Wilts. He speaks of its old importance, and of its Roman coins and Saxon camp.[1] We are not told what the result of the fight was.

Ceolred died in the year 716.[2] He was buried at Lichfield. His wife was named Werburga. Her obit is given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 782, and by Symeon of Durham in 783.[3] The latter calls her "late queen of Mercia and an abbess."

The descendants of Wulfere and Æthelred were now extinct, and the throne passed to a distant relative named Æthelbald. Bede does not give us his pedigree, but the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says he was the son of Alweo, son of Eawa, son of Pybba.[4] In the *Life of St. Guthlac* we are told that Æthelbald had been much persecuted, and was driven away by his predecessor Ceolfred. He went to see St. Guthlac, who comforted him and prophesied that he would obtain the kingdom.[5]

With Æthelbald we pass out of the period to which this work is limited, and I have no more to say of him than to quote a sentence from Bede's concluding paragraphs. In reporting the condition of England when he was writing he adds: "All the southern provinces as far as the Humber,

[1] *Op. cit.* ed. Gough, i. 87.

[2] *Bede*, v. 24. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub an. 716.

[3] These dates seem impossible, see Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii. p. 56.

[4] *Vide* sub an. 716. [5] Hardy, *Cat.*, i. 406.

together with their kings, are subject to Æthelbald, King of the Mercians."[1] Having described the later civil history of Mercia, let us now turn to its church history.

Mercia itself, as we have seen, was divided by Æthelred about the year 692 into two dioceses presided over by Haedda[2] at Lichfield and Wilfrid at Leicester. When Wilfrid returned to Northumbria Haedda apparently again became sole bishop of the diocese.[3] It is very curious that Bede does not even mention him. According to the late history of Lichfield, printed by Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*,[4] Haedda built the church at Lichfield, which was dedicated on the 24th or 31st December 700, and thither he translated the bones of St. Chad. This means, I take it, that he substituted a stone church of some pretensions for the humbler building in which St. Chad and Bishop Saxulf had officiated. There are a number of documents in which his name occurs as a witness, but they are, I believe, without exception, spurious. He is mentioned in a far more reliable authority, namely, the almost contemporary *Life of St. Guthlac*, by Felix, who describes the visit of the bishop to the saint, and how he persuaded him to become a priest and (what was perhaps even more difficult), to dine with him. Guthlac died in 714. For the date of Haedda's death we have no better

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 23.
[2] I spell his name thus to distinguish him from Haedde of Wessex.
[3] See appendix to Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 623 and 624.
[4] I. 428.

authority than the Lichfield document just mentioned, which puts it in 721. According to the Episcopal lists published at the end of the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, Haedda was succeeded at Lichfield by Aldwin, also called Wor,[1] which is confirmed by Bede, who in naming the occupants of the several sees at the time of the close of his history speaks of Aldwin as Bishop of the Mercians. In his diocese Bede apparently includes the "country of the Hecanas," for he does not in that place name any Bishop of Hereford. I am disposed to identify him with the abbot of the same name who had presided over the Abbey of Partney,[2] in Lincolnshire, and who was called the brother of Æthelwin, Bishop of Lindsey, and of the Abbess Æthelhilda.[3] His death is entered by Symeon of Durham (*de Gest. Reg.*) in the year 737, where he is called "Aldwin qui et Wor."

We will now turn to the famous ecclesiastical foundations due to King Æthelred, who was no doubt much helped by his bishop, Haedda. In Lincolnshire, in conjunction with his wife Osthryth, he, according to Florence of Worcester, founded the abbey of Bardney, which they greatly cherished, and to which they removed some of the remains of her uncle St. Edwin. His foundations in the west of his dominions were much more important. We have seen how the wide district of the Severn valley, known as the country of the Hwiccas, and

[1] *M.H.B.*, 623 and 624.

[2] Near Spilsby, afterwards a cell of Bardney.

[3] *Bede*, iii. 11.

now forming the counties of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire and part of Warwickshire, was conquered by Æthelred's brother Wulfhere from Wessex, and then created into a sub-kingdom under Mercia, over which he put his brother Merwald.[1] He married Eormenburga, called also Domneva, niece of Earconberht, King of Kent, and became the father of Saints Mildred, Milburga, and Mildgith, and of a boy "of remarkable piety" called Merefin (? the Welsh name Mervyn).[2] We don't know in what year Merwald died. The next time we hear of the Hwiccas was in reference to Æthelwalch, King of Sussex, who says Bede married Eaba, the daughter of Eanfrid, brother of Eanbert, rulers of the Hwiccas, who were both, like their people, Christians. Who these two princes were we do not know, and nothing more is said of them. When we next meet with information about this province it is very embarrassing and difficult to follow. It is a curious fact that although Worcester has been so long a prominent cathedral-town, planted in a very prosperous part of England, we should know so little about its earlier history. The name Wigornia (the Latin of Worcester), does not occur at all in Bede; nor yet in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicl* euntil the years 959 and 992. There the city is called Wigarceastre and Wigceastre respectively. The name has perhaps some connection with Hwiccia, of which district it was the chief town.

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. pp. 328 and 329.
[2] See Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 630, 635, and 638.

Bede speaks of the early bishops of this diocese as "of the province of the Hwiccas." He tells us that the first who was elected to the post was Tatfrid, who had been a monk at Whitby, but died before he could be ordained. This was in the year 680. He describes him as a very strenuous and learned man.[1] He was succeeded by Bosil (? a corruption of Basil), who remained its bishop till the year 691, when he became too ill to perform his duties, and in his place, by command of King Æthelred, Wilfrid ordained Oftfor, whose ordination took place at York. Bede says that having applied himself to reading and studying the Scriptures at St. Hilda's two monasteries at Whitby, and desiring to perfect himself he had gone to Canterbury to be under Archbishop Theodore, where he spent some time in sacred studies, and then set out for Rome, which in those days was considered a feat of great courage (*magna virtutis*). Returning thence to Britain, he went to the province of the Hwiccas where King Osric then ruled, and continued there a long time preaching the word of faith and making himself a good example to all who saw and heard him. Inasmuch as Bosil was at that time very infirm, Oftfor was by universal consent chosen bishop in his stead.[2] It is noteworthy that not a word occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* about all this, nor, indeed, are the Hwiccas mentioned there. What is more strange is that nothing is said by Florence

[1] *Bede*, iv. 23. [2] *Ib.*

of Worcester of the story told by Bede, as above reported, except about the appointment of Bosil. He does not mention Osric at all. On the other hand, he has a good deal to say about a certain Oshere, whom I have discussed in the Introduction, and have shown to have been possibly an imaginary person, unless he was the same as the brother of Osric, called Oswald. So far as we know there are no materials extant for the history of the foundation of the Worcester see except these scanty sentences in Bede.

On the other hand, a plausible tradition does exist in regard to the foundation of the abbeys of Gloucester and Pershore, which seems to me to be in the main true.

The story has generally been quoted from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, but his authority for it is now accessible.[1] This tells us that in the fifth year of Æthelred, King of Mercia, that is the year 681, a synod met at the famous place called Ethcealchy (? Chelsea) at which were present Archbishop Theodore and Bishop Saxulf. At this synod King Æthelred gave to two of his officials of noble rank in the province of the Hwiccas, namely, Osric and his brother Oswald, certain estates, namely, 300 "tributarii" of land in Gloucestershire, where a

[1] *Historia et Cartularium S. Petri Gloucestriae*, W. H. Harte, Rolls series, 1863. It is apparently a fifteenth-century production, and Dugdale quotes it as Cott. M. Domitianus A, viii. An earlier edition of the story has been found in a MS. in the Gloucester Cathedral Library, Register A, but it is marked by several inaccuracies and a wrong date, and is evidently a copy, and I prefer to follow the *Gloucester Chronicle* just referred to.

monastery was founded to Osric and 308 "cassati" to Oswald at Pershore. A *Life of St. Kineburga of Gloucester*, sister to Osric, exists in MS. She has been ill-used, however, by English students, for Hardy in his *Catalogue* merely mentions the MS., and her name does not occur in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, nor in the *English Biographical Dictionary*. Dugdale tells us she presided over the monastery, which was a nun's establishment, for twenty-nine years, and when she died she was buried beside her brother Osric before the altar of St. Petronilla in the same monastery.[1] Leland, who saw the monument, speaks of it and of the inscription on it. He has the following sentence: "Osricus, founder of Gloucester Abbey, first lay in St. Petronels Chapel, thence removed into our Lady Chappell, and thence removed of late days and laid under a faire tomb of stone on the north syde of the high aulter; at the foote of the tombe is this written on a wall: *Osricus Rex primus fundator hujus monasterii* 681."[2] He distinctly identifies him with Osric, King of Northumbria,[3] which is supported, if not proved, by the fact of his bearing a Northumbrian name. Bede does not in fact tell us who Osric, the King of Northumbria, was. Smith, his editor, a man of singular knowledge and care, styles him *filius Alhlfridi*,[4] and this is copied without note in the *Monumenta Historica Britannicae*, 283. The authorities here quoted therefore identify Osric,

[1] *Hist. et Cart. Gl.*, 109.
[2] Leland, ed. T. Smith, ii. 60.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 59, v. 156.
[4] Page 218, note 10.

the deputy ruler of the Hwiccas, with the Osric who presently became King of Northumbria, the son of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy. This view may be supported by other facts; thus the sister of Osric, as we have seen, was called Kineburga. Kineburga was also the name of the wife of Alchfrid and the sister of King Æthelred of Mercia. Hence Osric and Kineburga were very close akin to Æthelred, being his nephew and niece respectively, both on his own side and on that of his wife, and there was every reason therefore for the former being appointed Æthelred's lieutenant as deputy king of the Hwiccas, and for the latter bearing the name of Kineburga.

According to Leland, Kineburga was succeeded as Abbess of Gloucester by Edburga and Eva, both queens of Mercia. The three ruled the abbey for eighty-four years, when "the nuns were ravyshid and dryven away by warres betwyxt Kynge Egherte and the kings of the Merches."[1]

Alchfrid, as we have seen, was ruler of Deira under King Oswy, by whom he was deprived of his kingdom, probably for rebellion.[2] He, at all events, disappeared suddenly from history and was probably put to death. If so, what more probable than that his wife, Æthelred's sister, should take shelter with the latter, and that her son should be given by him the post of sub-king of the Hwiccas until there was an opportunity of his returning again to Northumbria? It seems to me that the induction is complete, and that it fits in with all the facts,

[1] *Op. cit.* ii. 59.

[2] *Ante*, i. p. 222.

and I have no hesitation in accepting it as the only available solution of them. The only document not already cited referring to Osric is a charter dated in 676, and professing to convey one hundred (*manentes*) of land adjoining the town called Hát Bathu (*i.e.* Bath), to the Abbess Bertana for building a monastery of nuns (*sanctarum virginum*). It is signed by Osric as donor, by King Æthelred as confirming the grant, by Theodore the Archbishop, and by a number of bishops and laymen. It is accepted as genuine by Kemble. Haddan and Stubbs, however, speak of it as questionable, and I have discussed it in the Introduction.[1]

Summing up the results of this argument, it would seem that about 680, when Bosil was appointed to the bishopric of the Hwiccas, a see was definitely founded, comprising the two great counties of Gloucester and Worcester, which afterwards became that of Worcester, and that King Æthelred was its founder; while his nephew Osric founded the Abbey of Gloucester, and in all probability also that of Bath, and Osric's brother Oswald probably founded Pershore.

Leland, quoting from a chronicle of Tewkesbury,[2] then in that monastery, says that the abbey there was founded by two noble Mercian brothers named Oddo and Doddo, in the year 715, and was dedicated to God and St. Mary. It was named, says Dugdale, from a

[1] It speaks of the see of Worcester as already founded (*juxta synodalia decreta*), Kemble, No. 12.

[2] Dugdale quotes from a copy in the Cott. MSS., Cleop. C, iii.

hermit called Theokus, who had had a cell there. The two founders died in 725, and were buried at Pershore, Doddo having been a monk there. Their brother Almaric was buried in a small chapel at Deorhurst, near the door of the priory, which chapel had once been a royal hall, and there, says the writer, still remains the following inscription: *Hanc aulam Doddo dux consecrari fecit in Ecclesiam ad honorem Beatae Mariae virginis ob amorem fratris sui Almarici.*"[1]

Let us now return again to Worcester. Bishop Oftfor only occupied the see for a very short time. Bede does not tell us when he died, and we are dependent on Florence who on such a matter must be taken as an authority of considerable weight. He puts his death in the year 692, thus giving him a tenure of office of only a little more than a year.

The Worcester Cartulary contains a document which is not marked as spurious by Kemble, and has no suspicious features about it.[2] By this Æthelred, King of the Mercians, granted certain lands at Heanburg and "Aet Austin," containing altogether thirty cassati, to Oftfor for the Church of St. Peter at Wigorna (Worcester) with various easements. It is signed by King Æthelred, by Bishops Hedda and Oftfor, and a number of apparently lay signatories.[3] A second charter,[4] professing to

[1] Leland, iv. 150–151. See also Dugdale, ed. 1655, p. 154.

[2] The charter last quoted, which is dated as it stands in 676, speaks of the see as already founded—*juxta synodalia directu*.

[3] Kemble, No. 32; Birch, No. 75.

[4] Kemble, No. 33; Birch, No. 76.

convey forty-four cassati at Fledanburgh to the same bishop (who is said to have founded a monastery there), is marked as spurious by Kemble. The signatories are only consistent with its being of the year 691 or 692. As Kemble says, Osthryth in this deed is called *quondam conjux mea*, while she was alive till 697. Stubbs points out another reason for rejecting it.

Oftfor was succeeded by a more famous person, namely, Ecgwin, who is ignored by Bede, very much to the surprise of William of Malmesbury,[1] a surprise in which we must all share. This is a special loss, since he became the centre of quite a galaxy of fantastic stories in later times. He is described by his biographer as of royal descent. Florence, a good authority, says he succeeded to the bishopric in 692 and died in 717.[2] He further tells us how, with the consent of King Æthelred, he founded the Abbey of Evesham,[3] which is all he says of him. That abbey is very notorious for the wealth of forged documents relating to it at this time. I prefer to appropriate the paragraphs in which Haddan and Stubbs thus speak of all these charters save one. They say that "ten charters relating to the foundation of the abbey and embodied in the cartularies of Evesham and Worcester are all, without any exception, certainly forged, and, besides them, two letters or bulls of Pope Constantine are also spurious. In the thirteenth century a further edifice of pure fiction was raised upon the same

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, iv. 160. [2] *M.H.B.*, 539 and 541. [3] *Ib.* 539.

foundation. Conrad of Ursperg in his *Chronicle* transfers the English Council (at which the charters were confirmed) from 'Alne' to London, invents a legate, Bonifacius (confused with a Saint Boniface, who was a legate of the Pope forty years later), and a command of the Blessed Virgin to Ecgwin in his vision to erect her image in the church of Evesham, and asserts the business of the Council to have been the sanctioning, in compliance with the legate's authority, of the erection of images in churches, and a decree that the clergy should put away their wives; all which through the pages of Bale and of the Magdeburg Centuriators figures as a Council of London in A.D. 713 or 714 in Wilkins, i. 72 and 73."[1]

The two authors just quoted accept only one charter relating to Ecgwin as genuine, namely, that numbered 56 by Kemble, and 116 by Birch, dated 706, and granting lands to a certain sub-regulus called Oshere. This, however, as we have seen in the Introduction, must go the way of all the rest. So also must the document professing to be the foundation charter of the abbey granted to Ecgwin himself, printed by Macray in his edition of the *Evesham Chronicle*, pp. 17–20, and numbered by Birch 131. Ecgwin's biography was apparently first written in the eleventh century, and is still more fantastic, and for the most part a pure invention. I only quote from it as a good specimen of such products. In it he is made a member of the royal family of Mercia, distin-

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 280.

guished for his piety from his early years, and is called a favourite counsellor of King Æthelred. He became a priest, and, against his will, was appointed by the King, clergy, and people to the see of Worcester, where he was very zealous in enforcing the sanctity of marriage, and reforming morals. His stringency brought him unpopularity. Serious charges were brought against him by the common people, of the nature of which we know nothing, and they drove him from his bishopric. This fact came before the King and the Pope; the latter of whom summoned him to Rome. He accordingly set out. Before leaving Mercia he ordered a smith to make him some iron fetters closed with locks, "such as they fixed about the feet of horses," and having locked them on his bare legs as instruments of penance, he threw the key into the river Avon at a place then called Hruddingpool. He then set out, arrived at Dover *ad oppidum Dorovernensis castelli* (a translation of Dofraceastre) and embarked in a small vessel for Italy. While he was performing his devotions at St. Peter's and preparing to say Mass, his attendants caught and brought him a fish, in the liver of which was the key which he had thrown away, and which enabled him to unloose his fetters. He was presented to the Pope, who, having heard the story, treated him very kindly and sent him home with commendatory letters to King Æthelred, who restored him with honour to the see of Worcester. This wonderful story, we are told, was reported by Ecgwin himself.

William of Malmesbury says of it, "*Credendumne putatur quod tradit antiquitas*," a rather cynical comment.[1] The biography continues thus: "He is then said to have obtained a grant of lands from King Æthelred on a site covered with shrubs and brambles and called Homme,[2] and which was near the spot where he threw the key into the Avon. Ecgwin put the estate in charge of four swineherds, the chief of whom was called Eoves, from whom the city was called Eovesham.[3] One day a favourite sow, wandering into the thicket, was lost, and Eoves reported how in searching for it he came to an open space where there were three maidens clad in heavenly garments and singing divine music. Ecgwin said that he visited the place indicated by the swineherd and was himself favoured with the same vision, and declared his belief that it was the Virgin, accompanied by two angels, and determined to found a monastery there."

How easily this was believed may be gathered from the fact that on the seal of the abbey engraved in *Archeologia*, xix. pl. v., and which is apparently of the thirteenth century, there is a representation of the swineherd, with the inscription—

> "Eoves her wonede ant was swon
> For þi men clepet þis Eovishom."
>
> (Eoves here dwelt and was a swain,
> Therefore men call this Eovesham.)[4]

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 296–7.

[2] According to Tindal (*Hist. of Evesham*) its British name was Hethbo.

[3] Originally Eovesholm (Bright, 435, note 5).

[4] T. Wright, *Biog. Britt.*, i. 225.

After the death of St. Aldhelm, whom he is said to have buried at Malmesbury, Ecgwin is reported to have gone to Rome again with King Coenred of Mercia and Offa of Essex. His alleged object was to secure privileges for his monastery. These, we are told, he obtained from Pope Constantine, while he received grants of land from the two kings, which were confirmed at a council held at Homme. The monastery was consecrated by Beorhtwald, the archbishop, in honour of the Virgin, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all saints. Ecgwin now resigned his see and became its abbot. Presently he died, after delivering a touching address to his brethren.

The author of the "Life" and Florence of Worcester tell us that his death took place on 30th December 717, and the former composed an epitaph for him, for the style of which he apologises—*Apposuit epitaphium scriptor, non leonina dictatum cantilena, sed simplici commendatum stilo et descriptione non ficta*[1]—and then reports a number of his miracles, arranged in lections for pious reading. In one of these the saint is made, when crossing the Alps on his way to Italy, to procure water from a rock. In another, which he claims to have been the first to publish, he tells us how in Ecgwin's day there was, some eight miles from Evesham, a fortress called Alnecestre, or Alcester, which was among the most famous in England, and was a royal residence and surrounded with pleasant meadows, woods, and rivers stocked with fish. Its inhabitants,

[1] *Chron. abb. de Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 15.

however, were very wicked, nor would they listen to the saint when he went there to preach. It was famous for its ironworks (*conflandi ferrum locus esset aptissimus*), and when he began to speak the smiths made a great noise with their hammers, etc., so as to drown his voice, upon which he caused the whole place to be swallowed up, and his biographer says its ruins were still found by those who were digging foundations for the new town, "in which," he adds, "the smith's craft has never since flourished."[1] Dr. Bright quotes the story as proving the still stubborn survival of paganism in certain places.[2] In one of the lections, on his special festival, we are told of a seal which was captured in the Avon, the only one that had ever been seen there, and which the good brothers were taught to believe had been specially provided for them by their patron, the fisherman Peter.[3] The biographer again tells us that on one occasion a certain bishop named Ailward went to have an interview with King "Eardecanut" (*i.e.* Hardecnute) in Flanders; a storm came on, whereupon Ailward made an appeal to the sainted Ecgwin, and with his companions vowed that if they were saved they would dedicate a rich reliquary, to hold his remains, made of gold and silver. This vow he carried out, and the remains were solemnly translated to it on the 10th of September. Other venerable priests (*venerandi sacerdotes*) supplied crosses, candlesticks, and other gifts, and the ceremony was performed

[1] *Chron. Eves.*, 23–27. [2] *Op. cit.* 435. [3] *Chron. Eves.*, 33.

with great pomp. The translation was afterwards commemorated every year. When King Eadgar restored the church at Evesham after the Danish ravages, we are told the shrine was found quite intact among the neighbouring stones, and in it the remains of Ecgwin.[1] In the reign of Eadgar's successor, Æthelred, a man who tried to swear away land from the abbey over the saint's relics, is said to have lost his beard.[2] In another case a rustic, who falsely claimed land belonging to the abbey, miraculously died.[3] In the time of King Edward Ecgwin's remains were removed to a shrine originally made for St. Odulf. Among the artificers who restored it, the head man, while working with one of his tools, seriously injured his hand. He was cured after making an appeal. The man, we are told, was the father of St. Clement, afterwards prior of the abbey.[4] In the reign of the same king a certain matron called Algitha, who was devoted to the memory of the saint, wished to secure a relic of him. She bribed the boys who served in the church, and then crept in at night and took part of the bone of his arm, and a tooth. He appeared to her in a vision and told her to replace them. As she did not do so, she was struck blind, and remained so during her life. She thereupon sent to the abbot, who was called Mannius, asked to be allowed to keep the relics, and promised to place them in a shrine decorated with gold and silver. She undertook to leave the

[1] *Chron. Eves.*, 36–38. [2] *Ib.* 41. [3] *Ib.* 43. [4] *Ib.* 44.

relics, with an estate called Suella, to the convent on her death. Of the boys, who helped her to steal the bones, one was drowned and the other was stricken with disease.[1]

In the time of King William, Walter, Abbot of Evesham, rebuilt the church. When he had partially destroyed the old one (then among the most beautiful in England), and of which the crypt alone remained, the monks found themselves in need of stone and wood to complete the work, and especially of the most needful of all human things—namely, money (*quod maxime in humanis necessitatem juvat, pecuniarum*). The abbot accordingly ordered two of them to perambulate England with the relics of the saint offering blessings and cures to those who would contribute to the building. One rich man made three such offerings. This was at Oxford, where a rogue, who noticed him, took advantage of his devotions, and three times put his hand in his pocket and took out money. The theft was miraculously disclosed by the aid of the saint.[2] These stories, which are interesting to us mainly because of the illustration they offer of the mode of thought and customs of the times, had a very real purpose when employed in lections and homilies to exalt the supposed wonderful gifts of the saint, and were of course supplemented with many others about his curing diseases or helping men and women in their dire troubles. It was in fact as necessary for the upkeep and vitality of a

[1] *Chron. Eves.*, 45 and 46. [2] *Ib.* 55 and 56.

prosperous monastery to have a popular and profitable saint, as it was to have a business-like prior. The author of the Life just quoted, who had a high opinion of the saint, modestly disclaims the power to do justice to him.

We must now say a few words about the foundation of the see of Hereford. Hereford is described by William of Malmesbury as a small town, adding that the ruins which were found in digging there proved it to have once been a large one.[1] We saw how when Æthelred ravaged Rochester in 676 Putta was absent from his see. Perhaps he had had a quarrel with Hlothaire, King of Kent. At all events, Bede tells us he did not return home, but repaired to Saxulf, the Bishop of the Mercians, who, says Bede, gave him a small piece of land (*agellus non grandis*), together with a church, and there he ended his life in peace. There he exercised his ministry, and being a notable musician he went about when invited, to give lessons in his own art of a choirmaster.[2] The name Putta is a very rare one, and I have no doubt that the Putta here named is the same whose death is put by Florence of Worcester in 688, and whom he calls Bishop of Hereford. As Dr. Bright says: "Bede's statement does not point to the regular formation of a bishopric at Hereford at this time. We may, however, assume that he would not refuse to perform episcopal functions in the surrounding district of the Hecanas as a deputy of Saxulf. He

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, p. 298.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 12.

would thus be regarded as its acting chief pastor, and in later traditions as actually its first bishop."[1]

In MS. A. of Florence of Worcester, under the year 588, there is an interpolation stating that on the death of Putta, Tyrhtel succeeded as Bishop of Hereford.[2] He is also named in the list of the Bishops of the Hecanas in the Appendix to the same writer,[3] where in different MSS. he is variously called Tyrhthel, Tyrhthelm, and Torhelm. Bede knows nothing about him, and Mr. Plummer ignores him.

In the list in question Tyrhtel is succeeded by Torhtheras, also unknown to Bede. In the list of the Bishops of the South Angles[4] his name again occurs with the variants Torthelm, Tortelre, and Totta. The name Torthhere is found among the bishops signing a document in the Canterbury Chartulary, and first published by Haddan and Stubbs.[5] This document seems to me to be most certainly spurious, and the editors in question themselves speak very doubtfully about it. The name again occurs in the form Torthere in a charter numbered 75 by Kemble and 146 by Birch, and which is dated in 717, a date which Kemble arbitrarily changes to 727, to make it consistent with the signatures. The phraseology of this document is also quite fantastic.

According to the list in the Appendix to

[1] He adds that near the city is a hamlet called "Putstone," which gives a title to two prebends in the Cathedral. Bright, *op. cit.* 300 and note 4.

[2] *M.H.B.*, 538, note 3.

[3] *Ib.* 621.

[4] *Ib.* 624 and note 17.

[5] *Op. cit.* iii. 300 and 301.

Florence, Torthere was succeeded as Bishop of the Hecanas by Wahlstod, otherwise Wahlston and Eahlston.[1] About him there is no doubt, for he is mentioned by Bede among the bishops who were living when he wrote his *History*. He calls him Ualchstod. It is notable that he does not call him Bishop of the Hecanas or of Hereford, but tells us he was bishop of those peoples who lived beyond the Severn to the West (*ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem*).[2] The only other mention of him is by William of Malmesbury, who gives us an inscription from a cross, which, he tells us, was begun by Walhstod and completed by his successor Cuthberht. It is as follows :—

"Haec veneranda crucis Christi veneranda sacratae
Ceperat antistes venerandus nomine Walhstod
Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis,
Sed, quia cuncta cadunt mortalia tempore certo,
Ipse opere in medio moriens e carne recessit.
Ast ego successor praefati praesulis ipse,
Pontificis, tribuente Deo, qui munere fungor,
Quique gero certum Cudbert de luce vocamen
Omissum implevi quod ceperat ordine pulchro."[3]

William of Malmesbury also gives us a few lines of the epitaph in which Cuthberht commemorated the names of his own predecessors, one of which run thus : "Nomina sunt quorum Wahlstodus, Tohrtere, Tirhtil."[4] It is clear from these notices that the foundation and beginnings of the diocese of Hereford are hidden in obscurity, and that the first

[1] *M.H.B.*, 621 and note 42.
[2] *Op. cit.* v. 23.
[3] *Gest. Pont.*, iv. 163.
[4] *Ib.*

of its bishops of whom we have perfectly certain knowledge, and who is named by Bede, was Wahlstod. The diocese of Hereford not only included the country of the Hecanas proper, but also that portion of the later county of Gloucestershire which lay west of the Severn and the Leadon.

Let us now turn to another Mercian see, namely, Lincolnshire. This detached part of England was alternately a satellite of Northumbria and Mercia, and had now become definitely a part of Mercia. On the re-conquest of the province in 679 the Northumbrian bishop Eadhaed, who had had charge of it, withdrew, and became Abbot of Ripon, and Wulfhere the Mercian king appointed a bishop of his own, who became the real founder of the see, namely, Æthelwine.[1] He was the brother of Alduini, Abbot of Partney, and of the Abbess Ædilhilda.[2] He fixed his seat at Sidnaceaster, a few miles from Lincoln, now called Stow, where in later Saxon times a stately minster arose which still remains, the finest building extant of Saxon date.

Æthelwine and his brother Æthelhun were of noble birth, and had studied in Ireland. Bede speaks of them as both beloved by God. He adds that Æthelwine, having been well instructed, returned into his own country and, being appointed its bishop, governed the province of Lindissi most worthily for a long time.[3] We don't know how long he held the see, but he was succeeded by Eadgar.[4]

[1] *Bede*, iv. 12, who calls him Aedeluini.
[2] Bede, *H.E.*, iii. 11.
[3] *Ib.* iii. 27.
[4] *Bede*, iv. 12.

Eadgar's signature is appended to a charter dated in 706 [1] (which I have no doubt is spurious), and also to the very doubtful report of the Council of Clovesho dated in 716.[2] In 731 Bede names his successor Cyneberht or Kinbert as being bishop of this see when he was writing.[3] In acknowledging his obligations to different persons, Bede says in his preface: "What was done towards promoting the faith of Christ, and what was the sacerdotal succession in the province of Lindissi, we learnt either from the letters of the most reverent prelate Cyneberht, or by word of mouth from other persons of credit." Symeon of Durham says that Cyneberht died in 732.[4]

The mention by Bede of the visit of Bishop Æthelwine and his brother to Ireland to pursue their studies, reminds us how much the practice prevailed at this time and earlier for Anglo-Saxon youths, especially from the north, to go to that island for their education. This was largely due, no doubt, to the great influence of the Irish Mission in Northern and Central England. Bede himself mentions a goodly number, *e.g.* King Aldfrid of Northumbria, perhaps the most famous of them all. Willibrord, the Apostle of the Friesians, told Bishop Acca that he himself, being only a priest, had led a religious life in Ireland for love of "the eternal country," and that the fame of King Oswald as a miracle worker was widely spread there.[5] Again,

[1] Kemble, No. 56; Birch, No. 116. [2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 300.
[3] *H.E.*, v. 23. [4] *Op. cit.*, ed. Arnold, p. 30. [5] *H.E.*, iii. 13.

speaking of other early missionaries to the continental Germans, Bede says: "Two other priests of the English nation, who had long lived strangers in Ireland, went as missionaries to the Old Saxons. They were both called Hewald, one being called the Black and the other the White."[1] Another missionary to Friesia was Wihtbert, of whom Bede says he was famous for his contempt of the world and for his knowledge, for he had lived many years a stranger in Ireland, leading the life of a hermit in great purity.[2] Again when Colman abandoned his see of Lindisfarne he was succeeded by Tuda, who, Bede says, had been instructed and ordained among the Southern Scots and in the south of Ireland where "the Catholic" practice about Easter and the tonsure prevailed.[3]

In another place he speaks of a Northumbrian monk named Haemgils, a friend of Drythelm, who, he says, "is still living, and leading a solitary life in the island of Ireland, supporting his declining age with coarse bread and cold water."[4] Cynefrid, Abbot of Collingham, the elder brother of Abbot Ceolfrid, also retired to Ireland, as we saw, where he died of the plague. There still remain three friends mentioned by Bede among the famous Englishmen who had sought repose and sacred learning in Ireland. One of these was Æthelhun, the brother of Bishop Æthelwine of Lindsey already named, and his friend Ecgberht, whom he speaks

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 10.
[2] *Ib.* v. 9.
[3] *Ib.* iii. 26.
[4] *Ib.* v. 12.

of as two youths of great capacity of the English nobility. He says of them that both lived in the monastery, which in the language of the Scots was called Rathmelsige (*i.e.* the dwelling of Mel, the nephew of St. Patrick now called Melfont:[1] Plummer questions this identification but cannot suggest another). Having lost all their companions from the plague, they fell ill there. Ecgberht, concluding that he was at the point of death, left the chamber where the sick people lay, and withdrew to a quiet retreat to meditate on his past life. Being greatly grieved at the retrospect, he prayed to God to spare his life awhile that he might make amends, and vowed that if he recovered he would lead a pilgrim's life far from his native land, and further, that, unless prevented by corporal infirmity, he would read through the psalter daily, and would every week fast a whole day and night. Returning home, he found his friend and companion asleep, so he retired to rest. Presently Æthelhun awoke and said: "Alas, brother Ecgberht, what have you done? I had hoped we should have entered into everlasting life together, but your prayer has been answered." This he had learnt in a vision. Æthelhun died the next night. Ecgberht, however, recovered, and lived till the year 729, when he was ninety years of age. Bede says he was a great benefactor both to his own nation and to those of the Scots and Picts, among whom he lived as a stranger.

[1] J. Stevenson, *Bede*, i. 434, note.

He added a fresh penance to that already mentioned in that in Lent he had but one meal a day, consisting of a small measure of skimmed milk and bread, a form of abstinence he also practised for forty days after Pentecost (that is, at Quinquagesima), and as many before Christmas,[1] as was not uncommon in Ireland. The last was called Corgus Moysi or Moses' Lent by the Irish, from Moses' sojourn of forty days in the wilderness.

Bede tells us that St. Chad was also a companion of St. Ecgberht[2] in Ireland when both were youths. A long time after the former's death, a certain abbot in the province of Lindissi called Theobald went to pay a visit to Ecgberht in Ireland. While they were talking of St. Chad, Ecgberht told him of a friend of his who had seen that saint's soul escorted to heaven by angels.[3] Bede reports that Ecgberht tried in vain to prevent King Ecgfrid from sending his murderous expedition to Ireland, "where the people had done him no harm."

Ecgberht presently made up his mind to go as a missionary among the Germans. He had duly made choice of some robust companions, famous for courage and learning, when he was visited by a disciple of Bosil, who had been Prior of Melrose, who told him his former master had visited him in a vision, and asked him to enjoin upon Ecgberht that it was God's will that he should not go to Germany but rather go and instruct the monasteries

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 27. On this threefold fast see Theodore's *Penitential.*
[2] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 198.
[3] *H.E.*, iv. 3.

of St. Columba in Scotland. A few days later the same man came to tell him that the vision had been repeated, and that Bosil had more emphatically enjoined on Ecgberht to go to Columba's monasteries, "whose ploughs," says Bede, "did not plough straight." Ecgberht still persevered, whereupon a storm came and broke the ship in which he was to sail, which determined the saint to obey what he deemed a divine message. He took care, however, that some of his companions should go to Friesland, among whom were Wihtbert, whose mission was a failure, and Willibrord and twelve companions (who had a marked success), as well as the two Hewalds already named.

In the year 716 Ecgberht went to Scotland to fulfil his mission of bringing round the Columban monks to the orthodox fashion in regard to keeping Easter and to the tonsure, in which he eventually succeeded.[1]

There is extant a letter of St. Aldhelm addressed

[1] Mr. Plummer has collected a large amount of evidence showing that Ecgberht was a bishop—that is, a bishop in the Irish sense, in which the office was subordinate to that of an abbot. Alcuin calls him the most holy father and bishop Ecgberht who was styled Saint (*Ecgberhtus qui cognomento Sanctus vocabatur*). Ethelwerd in his Chronicle (*M.H.B.*, p. 507) styles him *episcopus*, while Æthelwulf in his poem *de Abbatibus* calls him *pontifex* and says he consecrated and sent an altar for his own monastery, which Mr. Arnold thinks was at Crayke (Symeon of Durham, i. 270–272). The *Life of St. Adalberht* calls him "Egbertus Northumbrorum episcopus" (Pertz, xv. 700). He is called "Ichtbricht epscop.," *i.e.* Egbert, bishop, in an Irish document preserved at Brussels containing an account of the Synod at Birra (Parson's town), in which the so-called law of Adamnan was promulgated. The *Ulster Annals* put it in 696. Mr. Plummer says: "It illustrates the nature of Irish episcopacy that, with few exceptions, the abbots in this document take precedence of the bishops."—*Bede*, ii. 285.

to another Anglo-Saxon named Eahfrid, who had returned to England after studying in Ireland, and which is a fine specimen of the saint's fantastic rhetoric. Stubbs suggests that Eahfrid may have been either Echfrith, Abbot of Glastonbury, or Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne.[1] Raine definitely identifies him with the latter.[2] From the mass of Aldhelm's verbiage we learn that he spent six years in Ireland. He says that the numbers who then resorted to Ireland were like a swarm of bees, and there they learnt not only the arts of grammar and geometry but also physics and the allegorical and tropological interpretations of Scripture. Why, he asks, does this crowd of people go to Hibernia, as if sufficiently good teachers could not be found in Britain where they had inherited the learning of Theodore and Hadrian.[3]

I will now turn to the life of a Mercian anchorite who lived at this time and was the most picturesque and renowned saint produced by that kingdom. I mean St. Guthlac. Fortunately, we have an excellent and graphic account of him by one who was nearly a contemporary, and who derived his information, as he tells us, from companions of the saint; his name was Felix, and he was probably a monk of Crowland. He dedicated his prologue to King Æthelbald of Mercia.[4]

We are told by him that a Mercian chieftain of

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 10. [2] *Ib.* 7.
[3] Giles, *Aldhelmi Op.*, 91 *et seq.*; Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 196.
[4] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. xxxvi.

royal descent, named Penwald, and his wife Tetta, also of royal birth, had a son named Guthlac. They were descended from the Iclings, of which clan the Guthlacings were a family. He was baptized in infancy. In his youth he was fired with ambition to imitate the ancient heroes of romance, and, collecting a band of followers, he engaged in rapine and slaughter against the Britons. Felix qualifies the wickedness of this conduct by saying that he always restored a third of the booty. In another place he says that Guthlac had lived among the Britons, whose language he had learnt, and he refers to their creaking words (*eorum stridulentas loquelas*). This points to his having been an outlaw, and perhaps also points to the Britons having survived in the Fen country down to his time. After some years of this life he was struck with remorse, and determined to devote his days to religion. He accordingly bade his followers find another leader, and then repaired to a monastery at Hrepadun or Hreopadun (the later Repton), and the burial-place of the Mercian kings. This was, according to Florence of Worcester, in 697, when he was twenty-four years old, which puts his birth about 674. This monastery was presided over by an abbess named Ælfthrytha or Ælfthritha, and under her he received St. Peter's tonsure, for, as Felix expressly says, Repton was a Catholic congregation. Its discipline was not very strict, however, since Guthlac speedily got into ill odour among the inmates by abstaining from intoxicating

drinks, except at the communion. Presently his real worth was recognised and he became a favourite. He spent two years in singing psalms and hymns, saying prayers, and in other godly exercises. He was apparently specially attracted by the lives of the anchorites, which he had heard recited at Repton. Determined to become a solitary, he set out for "the Fenland," passing, as Felix says, through Granta or Grantchester (near the modern Cambridge). There he was on the borders of the Fens. Felix describes them as "stretching far to the north, with now a black pool of water and now a fœtid stream, among which rose many islets covered with fir and oak, ash and poplar, hazel and yew, with reeds and prickly shrubs, hillocks and manifold windings wide and long." At Granta, Guthlac met an inhabitant of the place called Tatwine, who pointed out to him a place named Crowland as the most desolate island in the waste and known to very few but himself. Thither he determined to go, with Tatwine for a guide, and they set out together in a fishing skiff. As Mr. Hole says, their route is only a matter of conjecture. "They could have dropped down the Cam in the direction of Ely monastery, then up the Ouse to where Erith now stands at the threshold of a long northerly stretch of true fen occupying East Huntingdonshire. Pursuing that direction, and thus skirting the western edge of the great marsh land, they could doubtless have threaded their way through streams and pools and meres up

to Medehamstede (now Peterborough), and then gained the Nene, which would carry them to Crowland, in the extreme south of Lincolnshire.[1]

The name is properly Cruland or Crudeland (*caenosa terra*, as Felix[2] says) and hence Crowland.[3]

There are several charters extant which, although false as they stand, doubtless give the boundaries of the place pretty correctly. "Here," says Mr. Hole, "we find the island extending four *leucae* by three and bounded by the Shepishee on the east, the Nene on the west, Asendyke on the north, and Southee on the south." These waters only partially survive. Camden describes the place as lying among the deepest fens and waters stagnating off muddy lands, so shut in and environed as to be inaccessible on all sides, except the north and east, and that only by narrow causeways.[4] Guthlac certainly found no causeway when he arrived. The place was then accessible by water only, and the language of Felix (*umbrosa nemora, inter nubilosos lucos*) suggest nothing better than a marsh jungle.[5]

After spending a few days in exploring the place, Guthlac went back to bid a final farewell to his friends, and in ninety days he returned, taking with him two youths as servants, and arrived once more at Crowland on St. Bartholomew's Day, that is, August 24th[6]—that Apostle was his chosen saint.

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 824 and 825.
[2] *Op. cit.* ch. 41.
[3] Bright, 433, note 1.
[4] *Op. cit.*, ed. Gough, ii. 224.
[5] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, *loc. cit.*
[6] Felix, par. 15.

Medehamstede, or Peterborough, lay about twelve miles to the west. As he looked northward into Lincolnshire, Guthlac could see no monastery below the latitude of Lincoln, upon which line there lay Bardney and Partney eastward towards the sea. Beyond Lincoln there was only Barwe, somewhere by the Humber. His nearest neighbour in Lincolnshire was doubtless Boston, founded, as we saw, by St. Botulf in 654.[1]

In a cistern-like hollow upon the slope of a hillock—thrown up, as Felix supposed,[2] in earlier times by diggers for hidden treasure, but more probably one of the ancient British barrows, which are not uncommon in these parts—he built his cell. He clothed himself with skins, and at sunset he took his single daily meal of barley bread and water.[3] The worst hardships of his lot were, however, those horrors which solitaries have everywhere experienced—temptations, the consciousness of sin, and an imagination haunted by demons. "His temptations were due to an excessive rigour. Stings of conscience which had not driven him into solitude came to him there."[4]

Dr. Bright says of him: "He practised all the austerities which belonged as a matter of course to the life of an anchorite, and they combined with the wisp fires and wild rounds of winter nights among the fens, and probably with intermittent attacks of marsh fever, to call up those hideous

[1] *D.C.B.*, ii. 824.
[2] *Op. cit.* 16.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *ib.* 17.

fancies of fiendish visitation and onslaught which read in Guthlac's life like an exaggeration of the trials of St. Anthony."[1] Hence it comes that he is represented in mediæval art in the form of a monk wielding a scourge with a dragon or evil spirit at his feet. Felix describes how in the stillness of the night his tormentors would flock around him, with their great heads, long necks, lean visages, squalid beards, rough ears, ugly faces, horse teeth, grating voices, crooked shanks, and long knees.[2] One night he heard the accursed who were lost, speaking in the British tongue, for, says Felix, many were the conflicts of the Britons and the Mercians in the days when Coenred was king.[3] These the saint dispersed by repeating the 67th (now 68th) Psalm. The fiends tossed him into muddy waters and dragged him through thorny thickets, etc. The infernal apparitions were not always with him, however, and he described to his faithful attendant Beccel on his death-bed how he used betimes to have sweet converse with the heavenly spirits sent by God to comfort him, who opened to him mysteries which it is not lawful for men to tell, and softened his hard conflict, with heavenly angelic discourses.[4]

Meanwhile, his fame everywhere grew, and crowds came to visit him, who were provided with modest meals by himself and the attendants. They lived in separate huts and tilled the ground around.

[1] *Op. cit.* 433.
[2] *Op. cit.* par. 12 ; *D.C.B.*, 825.
[3] Felix, par. 20.
[4] *Ib.* 35.

There were his two Repton servants, and Tatwine and Beccel, and Cissa and Ecgberht. The island had its one entrance from the river and its landing-place, where a recognised signal brought Guthlac down to receive his visitors.[1] The people who went to see him included men of the highest rank among churchmen and laymen, not only from Mercia but the remoter parts of Britain. Among them was Hedda, Bishop of Lichfield, who was accompanied by Wigferth, a man of books and learning. The latter had long lived among the Scots and doubted whether Guthlac was a real saintly man or not. On the other hand, Hedda was so impressed with the latter's mastery of the Bible that he persuaded him to be ordained a priest. This took place five days before St. Bartholomew's Day, while the hallowing of the isle of Crowland and of Guthlac himself took place in harvest-time. Thus we are told the island which had once been shunned as being haunted by demons now had its priest and chapel and altar.[2] As was the case with St. Cuthberht, and also with St. Francis in much later times, the beasts and birds grew tame when with Guthlac, and the swallows came to sit on his shoulders or nestled in his bosom as he turned the pages of holy writ. Among his intimates was the abbot of a neighbouring monastery called Wilfrid, with whom he discussed religious matters. Wilfrid introduced him to Æthelbald, the exiled heir to the kingdom of Mercia, who was being persecuted and hunted by

[1] Felix, pars. 26 and 27. [2] *Ib.* 38.

King Ceolred, and who often resorted to Crowland for sympathy and safety. Guthlac predicted his ultimate succession, and one of the latter's first works after he secured the throne was the building of the abbey of Crowland or Croyland. To Guthlac was attributed the gift of prophecy and of revealing secrets, and it was in vain that two brethren of the monastery had hidden their flasks under the turf before landing in the island;[1] while two others found themselves in trouble after carousing at a widow's house.[2] It would seem that the monastery of Repton continued to look upon Crowland as in some way a daughter house, and Felix tells us that its abbess Eadburga, the daughter of the King of the East Angles, who had apparently heard that he was ailing, sent him a leaden coffin and a winding-sheet, and requested to know whom he had nominated as his successor. He replied that he had chosen him, but he was still unbaptized. This reads like a cryptic sentence, meaning, probably, that he did not consider that he was going to die yet. He actually died on Easter Wednesday, 714,[3] a date confirmed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Florence of Worcester, and was succeeded by Cissa.

Near his monastery there had for some time been living his sister Pega, who dwelt as a female hermit in her own cell four *leucas* or leagues to the west of his own.[4] He had declined seeing her

[1] Felix, *vit.* 30.
[2] *Ib.* 29.
[3] *Vide* Hole, *D.C.B.*, ii. 826.
[4] Felix, par. 20.

until they met in heaven. This is explained in a metrical life of the saint published by Mr. W. de Grey Birch as being the result of the devil having once deceived him by appearing in the shape of his sister. Her first visit to Crowland was when she came at his last request to place his body in his sarcophagus. It was interred in the oratory, and when a year later it was exhumed, it was found uncorrupted and was not replaced in its grave, but put into a shrine in the monastery at a great assembly of ecclesiastics and others.[1] In spite, however, of his popularity, says Mr. Hole, Guthlac's name was not entered in any of the martyrologies. An Anglo-Saxon calendarium or menologium among the Cotton MSS.[2] gives him a brief notice under April 11th, but he is not named in the Calendar of the present English Church.[3]

Æthelbald founded a fine monastery at the spot where the saint (who cherished him when an exile) had lived. Ingulf, whose early narrative, except, of course, the interpolated charters, does not arouse the suspicion attaching to its later part, says that Crowland, consisting of fenny land, was not able to support a foundation of stone, wherefore the King ordered huge piles of oak and beech in countless numbers to be driven into the ground, and solid earth to be brought by water in boats a distance of nine miles from a place called Upland, and to be thrown into the marsh, and thus whereas the holy Guthlac had been previously content with an

[1] Felix, par. 27. [2] Jul. A., x. pp. 70–80. [3] *D.C.B.*, ii. 826.

oratory of wood, the King both began and finished a church, founded a convent, and enriched the place with lands and decorations. When Felix wrote, the site of Guthlac's cell and oratory had been already covered with buildings by Æthelbald.

In regard to his sister, St. Pega, the same author says that after the close of a year from her brother's death she placed in the hands of its abbot, Kenulf, the scourge of St. Bartholomew and her brother's psalter, together with some other relics, and then returned by boat to her cell, and having lamented him there for two years and three months she travelled to Rome amidst great hardships, and devoted herself to a religious life. Her death-day is given by Le Prévost as January 8th, but we don't know the year. The site of her cell, according to the same writer, was named after her Pegeland. "It is," says Mr. Hole, "without any doubt the modern Peykirk or Peakirk in Northamptonshire, called in Camden's time Peagkirke, *i.e.* Pega's church. It lies on the western verge of the great Peterborough fen, ten miles north of Peterborough, and seven or eight from Crowland, and it is skirted by the Welland. The monastery which arose there survived the Danes, but disappeared at the Norman Conquest. The dedication of the church is to St. Pega." Florence speaks of Guthlac as *dilectae Christi virginis Pegiae germanus*.[1] She does not occur in the Roman Martyrology, nor is a life of her known.

[1] *M.H.B.*, 540.

Having dealt with the story of Mercia, the dominant power of South Britain in the early eighth century, we will now turn to that of its satellites, the lesser powers. It is convenient to begin with East Anglia, about which we unfortunately have less information at this time than about any other part of England. Separated by the Fenland from the rest of the island, the district formed in effect a smaller island of its own, living a life apart, with, we cannot doubt, very conservative traditions. It would have indeed been a romantic story if we could have recovered what men were doing there, but to Bede and to the historians of Wessex it seems to have been too far off and too little connected with their story to induce them to pay attention to it. As to native records, we could hardly expect to find such, in a district which was presently so ruthlessly ravaged and so completely occupied by the men of the North.

It would seem that from the time of Anna the royal race of East Anglia was much devoted to godly things, and this perhaps accounts for the decay of its early martial spirit and for its becoming a willing dependent on Mercia.

Æthelhere, King of East Anglia, was, as we saw, killed at the battle of the Winwæd in 655.[1] He was succeeded by Æthelwald, who was his brother,[2] and who in the *Liber Eliensis* is called a good man and a devoted worshipper of God

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. 127–132.

[2] *Bede*, iii. 22 and 24, and Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 531.

(*homo bonus ac verus Dei cultor*).[1] The only event recorded of him is that he was godfather to King Suidhelm of Essex when the latter was baptized at Rendlesham.[2] According to Florence of Worcester, he died in A.D. 664.[3] He was succeeded by his nephew Aldwulf, the son of Æthelhere,[4] whose mother was Heresuitha,[5] the sister of St. Hilda. Her father was Hereric, the son of Eadfrith, the son of Ædwin, king of Northumbria.[6]

This gavė Aldwulf claims to the crown of that kingdom, and, as we have seen, it was probably in pressing them that his father, Æthelhere, allied himself with Penda and came to his end at the battle of the Winwæd.[7] Bede says the Council of Heathfield, which met in September 680, was held in his seventeenth year.[8] He also tells us that Aldwulf was a contemporary of his own (*qui nostra aetate fuit*), and that the king remembered when a boy having seen the temple where his predecessor Redwald had put up two altars, one to Christ and one to his old heathen gods.[9] His daughter Eadburga became abbess of Repton, and is mentioned in the *Life of St. Guthlac* as having sent that saint a coffin and a shroud to be buried in.[10] Her two sisters both became abbesses of Hackness.[11] According to Thomas of Ely, Aldwulf helped his cousin Æthelđrytha with her great

[1] *Lib. El.*, p. 25. [2] *Bede*, iii. 22 and *ante*, i. 152.
[3] *M.H.B.*, 532. [4] Florence of Worcester, appendix, *M.H.B.*, 636.
[5] *Bede*, iv. 23. [6] Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 532.
[7] *Ante*, i. 125. [8] *Op. cit.* iv. 17. [9] *Bede*, ii. 15 *ante*.
[10] *Vide ante*, ii. 400. [11] Bright, 285, note 2.

foundation at Ely, and it was doubtless with his consent that Theodore divided the East Anglian diocese, as we have seen, into the two sees of Dunwich and Elmham. His death is not mentioned by any English authority, but curiously enough, as Lappenberg was the first to show, it is named by more than one of the continental Annals, *e.g.* the *Annales Laureshamenses*, *Alamannici*, and *Nazariani*, and the *Annales Petavienses*; the former three call him Adulf and the last Agledulfus.[1] In all four, his death year is put in 713. This gives him a reign of forty-nine years. He was succeeded by Alfwold, whom Florence of Worcester calls his brother,[2] but Mr. Plummer has given some plausible reasons for thinking that he was his half-brother. A letter from him to Archbishop Boniface is extant; but it was written after the time to which this work is limited.

We will now say a word or two about the ecclesiastical affairs of this kingdom, the notices of which are even more scanty than the civil ones. We saw how Archbishop Theodore and King Aldwulf arranged, on the death of Bishop Bisi in 673 A.D., to divide the kingdom into its two sees of Dunwich under Æcci and Elmham under Beadwin.[3] The later bishops as given in Florence's table[4] are:

Dunwich.	Elmham.
1. Æcci.	1. Badwini or Beadwin.
2. Æsculf.	2. Northbert.
3. Eardred.	3. Heatholac.
4. Cuthwin.	
5. Aldbert.	

[1] Lappenberg, *op. cit.* xxxvi. and xxxvii., note 3.
[2] *M.H.B.*, 628 and 636. [3] *Ante*, i. 309–310. [4] *M.H.B.*, 618.

When Bede wrote the last paragraph of his *History of the Church* in 731, Hadulac, the Heatholac of Florence, and Aldberht occupied the two sees of East Anglia.[1] Otherwise we know nothing of the bishops just named.

I will now turn to the East Saxons, whom we have neglected for a good many pages. We saw how Theodore nominated Earconwald as Bishop of London. Bede tells us that when he was so made, that is in 675, Sebbi and Sighere reigned over the East Saxons. They were uncle and nephew, and apparently divided the kingdom between them and ruled under the tutelage and supremacy of the King of Mercia.

Bishop Earconwald founded the monastery of Chertsey and the nunnery of Barking. Bede says that before and after his appointment he was renowned for his piety, as was testified even in his own day by the miracles he did, for the horse litter, in which he was wont to be carried when sick, by his disciples, continued to cure many of agues and other distempers; it being the custom to lay sick people on it and beside it. Even its chips, when carried to the sick, effected an immediate cure.[2]

He is supposed to have died on the 30th of April 693. This is Stubbs' date,[3] and it coincides with the appointment of Beorhtwald to the archbishopric, but it is by no means certain, and some

[1] *Bede*, v. 23. [2] *H.E.*, iv. 6.
[3] See Stubbs' *Register*, p. 3.

put it in other years. The tradition at St. Paul's, as reported by Dugdale in his history of that see, prolongs his life to 697. There was a fierce struggle for his remains between the clergy of St. Paul's and the monks of Chertsey. "The Londoners carried off his body from Barking, where he apparently died, despite the cry of the men of Chertsey that he was their abbot. As the rains had swollen the river over which the body had to pass on its way to be buried, the monks interpreted it as a divine warning, while the Londoners declared they would go through an armed host and besiege strong cities rather than lose their patron. Thereupon one of the saint's disciples, having prayed for some sign of the wish of heaven in the matter, the waters divided, the tempest abated, and the body was triumphantly taken to St. Paul's, where it was buried. At first it was put in the nave. In the later cathedral, however, his shrine was placed in the Lady Chapel."[1] William of Malmesbury contrasts his fame with the obscurity of his successors, whose tombs even were unknown, while he adds that it was thought a great thing among the people even to know their names.[2] One of the most notable proofs of his influence was that King Sebbi, after a long reign, determined at his instance to lay down his crown and to take to a religious life.

As we have seen, Sebbi and his nephew Sighere

[1] Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, *op. cit.* 74; Bright, 424 and note 1.
[2] *Gest. Pont.*, ii. 73.

ruled over Essex at the same time. In consequence of the plague the latter lapsed from the faith with a certain following among the East Saxons, but they were reclaimed again by the influence of Bishop Jaruman of Mercia. Sebbi, who Bede calls his companion and co-heir (*socius ejus et coheres*) in the kingdom, meanwhile devoutly preserved the faith.[1] Sighere apparently died before his uncle. When he did so we do not know, but Bede implies that Sebbi was the sole king of the East Saxons at the time he renounced the throne. Quoting "a certain small book," apparently "the *Life of St. Æthilberga*," he tells us he had been much addicted to religious exercises, almsgiving, and prayers. He would long before have withdrawn from his throne and the world, had not his wife resolutely refused to be divorced from him, and it was said of him that "he was more suited to be a bishop than a king." When he had been on the throne thirty years he (being very ill and feeble) persuaded his wife that they should both devote themselves to the service of God since they could no longer enjoy, or rather serve, the world. Having with difficulty persuaded her of this, he repaired to Waldhere, the Bishop of London, who had succeeded Earconwald, and received from his hands the "habit" he had long desired. He presented the bishop with a considerable sum of money to give to the poor, retaining nothing for himself. When his illness increased on him he summoned Bishop

[1] *Bede*, iii. 30.

Waldhere and entreated him not to allow any one to be present at his deathbed, except himself and two of his attendants, being afraid that when overcome by weakness, he might do some unseemly thing. Soon after, the king had a vision which removed all his anxiety on this matter and foretold to him when he should die. He told his attendants that he had seen three men in bright garments who had visited him; one of them sat in front of his bed while his companions stood and inquired about the state of the sick man they had come to see. The one who was sitting told him that he would die without any sin, that his soul would depart in a great flood of light, and that this would happen three days later, all of which duly occurred when he gently fell asleep. A stone coffin, says the legend, having been provided for his body, they found that it was too short by a span. They then hewed away a part of the stone two fingers in breadth, but still it was too small. They thereupon determined either to get a new coffin or to bend the king's knees and thus to shorten his length, but by a miracle, in the presence of the Bishop and his own son Sighard (who had become a monk and who reigned after him conjointly with his brother Swefred) and of a considerable number of men, it was found that the coffin had not only adapted itself to the size of the body but also admitted of a pillow being put in it at the head and the feet respectively. It had, in fact, become four inches longer than the body. He was buried, says Bede, in the Church of the Blessed Apostle of the

Gentiles (*i.e.* St. Paul's, London), by whose instruction he had learned to hope for better things.[1] Smith, in his edition of Bede, says that his tomb remained in the Cathedral until the Great Fire in 1666. It is curious that in the history of the East Saxons we should have a continual recurrence of a duplicated ruler—a king being frequently succeeded by two of his sons (who divided the heritage) —instead of by one. It was so again now. Bede tells us distinctly that Sebbi was succeeded by two of his sons, Sighard who had been a monk, and Swefred.[2] Of Sighard we know nothing more than his name. Swefred has been identified, with some probability, with the Swaebhard, who is said by Bede to have been joint king of Kent in 692.[3] He may have ruled over Surrey, which, as we have seen, had been detached from Kent to make a principality for Frithowald. It may, however, be that Bede made a mistake and that in naming the two kings just mentioned he meant to designate the kings of Kent and Essex, which provinces were closely connected. At all events, Kemble gives a charter, which he does not mark as spurious, in which a Swaebhard, king of the East Saxons, jointly with a certain Paeogthath and with the consent of King Æthelred, conveys thirty cassati of land at Tuicanhom (*i.e.* Twickenham) in the province of "the Middel Seaxan" to Bishop Waldhere. This is dated July 13, 704. It is about this time that we read of Offa, the son of Sighere, who is not called

[1] *Bede*, iv. ch. 11. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 11. [3] *Bede*, v. 8.

king in the text of Bede and was doubtless only a royal prince of the East Saxons.

Bede tells us that in the fourth year of Osred, King of Northumbria, *i.e.* in 709, Offa, son of the East Saxon king Sighere, went with Coenred, King of Mercia, to Rome. He describes the former as a youth of most lovely age and beauty (*amantissimae aetatis et venustatis*) and whom all the nation desired should be their king. "He, however, quitted his wife, lands, kindred and country for Christ and for the Gospel that he might receive a hundredfold in this life, and life everlasting in the world to come. When he arrived in Rome he took the tonsure, adopted a monastic vocation and attained the long-wished-for sight of the blessed apostles in heaven."[1] With words like these Bede, following the fashion of the times, tries to palliate what was in effect a wicked piece of cowardice inspired by purely selfish and self-seeking notions and involving the sacrifice of his people, his home, and his duties by Offa. In the suspicious chronicle of Evesham, we are told that Offa and Coenred were accompanied by Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, who was said to have gone to Rome to receive some privileges for Evesham Abbey.[2] Thomas of Elmham tells us that Offa was persuaded to give up his duties and position as a king and to become a monk by Cyneswitha, a nun of Caistor and daughter of Penda, *i.e.* the sister of King Æthelred of Mercia previously mentioned.[3]

[1] *Bede*, v. 19. [2] *Op. cit.* 8. [3] Bright, 478, note 1.

The next king of the East Saxons was Saelred, who is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as having been killed in 746. In the appendix to Florence of Worcester, it is said he was the son of St. Sigeberht and that he was killed in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, which would put his accession in 708.[1] We are not directly told why he was killed or by whom. Florence has, however, a cryptic sentence in which he says *quo perempto . . . Swithredus regni solium obtinuit.* What the meaning of "solium" here is I do not know; perhaps Florence identified Suithred with the Swefred or Suaebhard of Bede above named, who possibly now became the sole king of Essex. He says that Suithred reigned for some years, and after his death there were few genuine kings (*perpauci reges . . . proprii*) among the East Saxons.[2]

We will now turn to Wessex, the civil and ecclesiastical history of which is much qualified with difficulty at this time. This is not only due to the internal troubles which molested the country and weakened its power, but to the false orientation which has been given to it by historians who have not realised that Wessex was quite an obscure part of England until it sprang into importance in the Danish wars, and that its later historians gave an altogether false glow to its earlier days. We have seen how Caedwalla, its mysterious king, abandoned his crown and went to Rome in pursuit of other

[1] *M.H.B.*, 637. [2] *Ib.*

duties and of other claims than those imposed upon him as a ruler of men. He was succeeded by Ine or Ini, who fills a considerable place in the romance which passes so often for history. Dr. Bright complains that Bede should tell us so little about his laws or his ecclesiastical benefactions, and should pass over the greater part of the thirty-seven years which his reign lasted and take us right away to his abdication and his departure for Rome. This may mean that there was little to tell. Let us try and gather what little there is. An initial difficulty arises about his origin and pedigree, and the different traditions about them show that the matter is not clear.

In a wild west country saga, attributed by some to the tenth century, he is made out to be a ceorl who, like David, was induced by a divine summons to leave his father's herds at Somerton, and was chosen by the Bishops in London to be king of England, south of the Humber. He is made to marry Æthelburga, heiress of "the king of Northern England," at Wells, to rule over the whole country, and to give Wells to Bishop Daniel, who made it the seat of his bishopric. This perfectly absurd story is contained in a document referred to as "the Historiola."[1] The Welshman, Caradoc of Llancarvon, a very shaky authority, identifies Ini with Ivor, who, says the latter, was the son of Alan of Armorica by Æthelburga. Bede does not give

[1] Described in vol. xviii. of the Somersetshire *Arch. Journal*, ii. 17–21.

his origin, and merely says he was of royal lineage (*de stirpe regia*).[1]

There is another tradition, however, which is more consistent and which makes him the son of Cissa, the founder of Abingdon Abbey. This is reported by the *Chronicle* of Abingdon and by William of Malmesbury in his account of that abbey, in his *Liber Pontificum*, and also by Higden in his *Polychronicon*. In despair at these contradictions, Palgrave long ago wrote: "Did the three names of Cenred, Coenbyrht and Cissa belong to one person, or was there more than one Ini? This is a question which cannot be answered."[2] I am strongly of the view which makes Cissa the father

[1] *Bede*, v. 7. Nearly all the English authorities make Ini the son of King Cenred or Kenred. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. A, B, and C, under the year 688, he is made the son of Cenred, son of Ceolwald, son of Cuthwine, son of Ceaulin, son of Cynric, son of Cerdic. In the preamble to the laws affirmed to be his, Ini is simply called the son of Cenred. Ethelwerd says he sprang from Cedric, who was his sixth ancestor (*M.H.B.*, 506). By the pseudo-Asser and Florence of Worcester, Cuda or Cutta is inserted between Ceolwald and Cuthwine (*M.H.B.*, 468 and 537), but in the Appendix the latter merely says: "*Ine filius Kenredi abnepotis regis Ceaulini*" (*ib.* 641). All these authorities agree in making Ini the son of Cenred. When we turn, however, to the account in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of the ravaging of Kent by him in revenge for the murder of Mul, we find in MS. F that the statement is glossed with the words *his broder*, that is, Ini is made the brother of Mul. Florence of Worcester, under the same year (694), speaking of Ini, calls Mul *Germanum suum*, while Ethelwerd calls him *propinquum ejus* (*M.H.B.*, 506). Inasmuch as Mul is distinctly called the brother of Caedwalla in MSS. A, B, and C of the *Chronicle* in the year 685 and by Florence of Worcester in 687, this would make Caedwalla and Mul brothers, but Caedwalla is distinctly called the son of Coenbright in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and by Florence, under the year 685. This treats Cenred and Coenbright the same person, which is quite inconsistent with their two pedigrees.

[2] *English Commonwealth*, 408.

of Ini. The story in the pseudo-Asser and the *Chronicle* are both of them, as it seems to me, based on the same fantastic pedigree, which was, as I have shown elsewhere, built up artificially to glorify the Wessex kings in their great days, while I have doubts about the so-called laws of Ini having belonged to his time at all.

Bede tells us that Ini abdicated the throne in 725 after a reign of thirty-seven years, which puts his accession in 688. One of the first recorded of his acts was a war against Kent, which apparently lasted for some time and the purpose of which was largely to revenge the murder of Mul, the brother of Caedwalla.[1] This was ended, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in 694 by the payment of a large sum as a wergild by the Kentish king. The campaign of Ini in Kent is not named by Bede, *a fortiori* his narrative says nothing of the wergild, about the amount and nature of which there is great divergence among the authorities.[2]

Turning elsewhere, Bede says that Ini for many years harried the province of the South Saxons, during all which time they had no bishop of their own, but after the recall of Wilfrid, were subject

[1] *Ante*, ii. 138.

[2] MS. A of the *Chronicle* has XXX $\overline{M}$. MS. B has $\overline{XXX}$ punda. MS. C, XXX punda: MSS. D, E, and F, XXX þusanda. William of Malmesbury has 30,000 Mancusses, which at eight to the pound would agree with Florence. Ethelwerd says 30,000 solidi, and Florence of Worcester IIIDCCL libras, *i.e.* 3750 pounds. Allen in his *Royal Prerogative*, 177–178, supposes it was 30,000 sceattas, which is the exact wergild of a Mercian king. See Thorpe, *Laws*, i. 190. See also Plummer, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ii. 33–34.

to the bishop of the Gewissi, *i.e.* of the West Saxons, in the city of Winchester.[1] This means that the South Saxons became subject to Wessex. In the year 710 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that Ini with Nun his kinsman (*his maeg*) fought against Geraint the king of the Welsh,[2] that is of the West Welsh of Devon and Cornwall. Ethelwerd puts Nun first, and says: "The kings Nunna and Ine fought against Uuthgirete, the king."[3] Florence, apparently on his own authority, adds the clause, "*victumque in fugam vertere.*" Henry of Huntingdon presents us with one of his choice amplifications that so delighted the heart of Mr. Freeman. He says: *Cujus pugnae principio occisus est dux Higebald; ad ultimum vero Gerente cum suis faciem ab Anglis avertit, et fugiens arma et spolia sequentibis reliquit.*[4] This Higebald is the Sigbald, King of Essex, who is mentioned, but quite apart from this fight, in the *Chronicle* as having been killed in 710.

In the year 715 Ini fought with Ceolfrid, King of the Mercians, at Wodnesburgh. If this was, as generally supposed, Wanborough in Wiltshire, it shows that Ini was acting on the defensive. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us that in the year 721 Ini killed Cynewulf the Æthelingt (translated *clito* by Florence of Worcester). Who this Cynewulf was, I do not know. He does not occur as a signatory to any charter, genuine or otherwise. I think it is possible that he was a spurious person

[1] *Bede*, iv. 15.
[2] *Vide ad an.* 710.
[3] *M.H.B.*, 507.
[4] *Ib.* 724.

created out of a mistaken reference to Cynewulf, King of Wessex.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has an enigmatical entry in the year 722. It says that Queen Æthelburga (by whom Ini's queen should be meant) razed the fortress of Taunton, which that king had previously built, and that Aldbryht the exile (*wrecceca*) departed into Surrey (*Suðrige*) and Sussex (*Suð-seaxe*), and Ini fought against the South Saxons.[1] Here again we have a fine amplification by Henry of Huntingdon, who distinctly calls Æthelburga the wife of Ini. The paradox has been explained by an ingenious modern writer as meaning that Aldbryht raised a rebellion in Somersetshire and seized Taunton. There he was attacked by Ini's wife, who razed the fortress formerly built by her husband and compelled the rebel to fly; all this may be true, but it will be noted that most of it is pure conjecture. In the year 725, the *Chronicle* says that Ini fought against the South Saxons and there slew Aldbryht the Ætheling whom he had before driven into exile. I know nothing more of Aldbryht unless he is the Aldbriht who attested a spurious grant by Ini to Abbot Hean of Abingdon, dated in 699.[2] This war with the South Saxons is no doubt the same as that mentioned by Bede, who tells us that Ini harassed the province of the South Saxons for many years.[3]

After reigning thirty-seven years, Ini resigned

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *ad an.* 722.
[2] Kemble, 46; Birch, 101.
[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 15.

the throne in the year 725 and went to Rome. Bede thus describes the event. "He gave up the kingdom to younger persons and went to Rome to visit the shrine of the blessed apostles at the time when Gregory was Pope (*i.e.* Gregory the Second); being desirous of spending some time of his pilgrimage on earth (*ad tempus peregrinari in terris*) in the neighbourhood of holy places, so that he might be more easily received by the saints in heaven. The same thing," adds Bede, "was about the same time done by crowds of the English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women."[1] Ini's name was closely associated with the refoundation of the monastery of Glastonbury; it was, as we have seen, similarly prominent in the founding of that of Abingdon.

Florence of Worcester in reporting his death—the exact date of which we do not know—has the lines:

> "Et pro rege Deo, regali culmine spreto,
> Romam rex tendit, quo sancto fine quievit."[2]

William of Malmesbury has a story about his abdication, probably derived from the so-called hand-boc or story-book of King Alfred, which is worth telling. He says that Ini's wife was called Æthelburga, a woman of royal race and disposition, who was continually pressing on him the necessity of bidding adieu to worldly things, especially at the close of our lives. The king continually deferred executing her advice. She there-

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 7. [2] *M.H.B.*, 641.

fore determined to try a stratagem. On an occasion when they had been revelling at a royal villa with more than usual riot and luxury, she, on the day following their departure, caused an attendant to defile the palace in every way with cow dung and other filth and ended by putting a sow which had recently farrowed in the royal bed. They had hardly walked a mile when she pressed her husband with conjugal endearments to return. When they did so, he was surprised to find the place which only the day before "vied with the palace of Sardanapalus," filthy, disgusting, and desolate. Turning to the queen for an explanation she asked: "Where are the revellings of yesterday, the tapestries dipped in Sidonian dyes; where the ceaseless impertinence of parasites, the sculptured vessels overwhelming the tables with their weight of gold? and the delicacies sought for so anxiously throughout sea and land to pamper the appetite? Are they not now all smoke and vapour? Have they not all passed away? Woe to those who attach themselves to such things, for they too shall pass away, like a river running to the sea, and they shall be carried away by its current. Reflect how these bodies we pamper so, must decay. Shall not we who gorge so excessively become quite disgustingly putrid? The mightier they are, the more they shall endure, and a severer trial awaits the strong."

With these words she gained over her husband, whom no amount of persuasion could previously

move.[1] "He who had had so many triumphs in war, and after so many exercises of virtue, now aspired to the very highest perfection and set out for Rome. There he was shorn in secret and clothed himself in homely garments, nor did his queen desert him, but she made it her constant care to soothe his sorrows by her conversation and to stimulate him when wavering, by her example. Thus united in mutual affection they eventually trod the path along which all mankind must pass. This was attended," says William of Malmesbury, "by singular miracles such as God often deigns to bestow on the virtues of happy couples." [2]

It is certainly an extraordinary fact that such crowds of people should at this time have joined the pilgrimage to Italy. Gregorovius, the historian of Rome, sees in it all, only a fatuous journey. "The magnets which drew them were dead men's bones; their goal a grave; their reward a prayer before it"—and cites a passage from Seneca in illustration.

But we must put the nineteenth century behind us if we are to understand what it meant to a great mass of simple people just emerged from paganism, full of fervour and faith, accepting the miraculous in almost every trivial event, prone and ready to believe almost anything, very sentimental and easily moved by touching and nervous appeals from priests as full of faith as themselves, and all ready

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg.*, Rolls ser., i. 37.
[2] *Op. cit.* bk. i. ch. ii.

to think that the rough, rude world, full of slaughter and ruffianism, was a poor place compared to the haven which their mental vision saw so close to them. We must accompany a procession of Breton peasants on a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel or a larger and more educated procession of devotees to Lourdes to realise what it meant to these pilgrims, who went to say their prayers where St. Peter was supposed to be, and where so many martyrs and saints lay around.

Some of the effects, as Mr. Plummer says, were bad enough, but they were effects inseparable from such movements, however good or bad they may have been in themselves. Boniface writes to Cuthberht, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 748 saying it would be well if the Synod of the English Church were to prohibit the journeying to Rome and back of women and veiled damsels. Most of whom perished on the way, while few preserved their virtue intact. For, he says, "there are few cities in Longobardia or in Francia or in Gallia in which is not to be found a prostitute of English race."[1] In writing to the Abbess Bugga, who had asked him as to the advisability of her visiting Rome (once the mistress of the world), as many others had done, and were still doing, he replied that he would not presume either to recommend it or forbid it. "If you cannot find peace at home, you might seek it as 'our Sister Withburga' has done, who has written to me to say she has found

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 381.

the peace at the gates of Rome which she had sought in vain elsewhere." He recommended her, however, to wait awhile, since the Saracens had recently made grievous attacks on the Romans.[1] The fact is, that in addition to the religious fervour which moved many, a certain number entertained a romantic wish to see the world on a bigger scale than it could then be seen in these islands, and especially "the sunny South." It was the "Grand Tour" to a great many, and the perils and discomforts of the journey were not then relatively so terrible as they would have been to us whose lives are more easy and comfortable. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the worldly-minded folk among them were anything but a minority. When kings and nobles in such numbers put away everything that most men long for, wrapped themselves in the monk's habit, and retired from the world, there must have been a great reality behind it all in a strong faith and a genuine pietism.

When Ini retired to Rome after his thirty-seven years' reign, he doubtless took with him plenty of treasures, with which to pay his way and to make offerings.

It was once thought that the English School at Rome owed its foundation to King Offa of Mercia, but Spelman (Concilia 290) has shown that it was in existence when Offa arrived there. Roger of Wendover, who, although a late writer, had access to original materials about

[1] *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.*, iii. 277–278.

Anglo-Saxon times, perhaps took the following story about it from the lost *enchiridion* of King Alfred. He tells us that when Ini arrived at Rome he, with the consent of Pope Gregory, founded a school known as the School of the English (*Schola Anglorum*). "There when English kings or others of royal blood, together with bishops, priests, and clerics, came to learn (*erudiendi*) the Catholic faith, it was exacted that nothing sinister should be taught nor anything likely to make a breach in Catholic verity for," adds our author, "the doctrines and schools of England have been interdicted by the Roman pontiffs since the days of Augustine on account of the numerous heresies that had arisen there from the mixture of Christians and pagans in the island. In this English School was founded a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in which the divine ministries could be celebrated for the English going to Rome, and where those who died in Rome could be buried. And in order that the establishment should be firmly supported, there was established a decree throughout the kingdom of the West Saxons by King Ini that each member of a family should annually send a penny, which in English was called Romscot, for St. Peter and the Roman Church, so that the English dwelling there might be duly provided for. This church was often burnt and often restored."[1]

The part of this story dealing with the Romscot is also referred to in the tract *de primo Saxonum*

[1] *Op. cit.*, ed. Coxe, i. 215–216.

adventu, often appended to Symeon of Durham, which adds that the payment was still made when the author wrote in the time of Henry I. The payment, according to Mr. Coxe, was what was afterwards known as Peter's Pence, and it would seem from this statement that it was originally established for the support of the English School at Rome and of the Christian English colony there.[1]

The *Liber Pontificalis*, in reporting the return of Pope Leo III. after his visit to Charles the Great, tells us he was met by a procession in which the scholars of the travellers (*peregrinatorum*)—that is, the Lombards, Franks, Frisians, and Saxons—took a part. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the Anglian School (which can only mean the English School at Rome) was burnt. William of Malmesbury says it was rebuilt by King Æthelwulf.[2] The *Liber Pontificalis* also speaks of the "Saxon vicus" at Rome having been burnt in the beginning of the reign of Leo IV., 847–855.[3] About the existence of the school and its church therefore, there can be no doubt; the only question is, who founded it?

The church was called S. Maria in Saxia. It is, says Signor Tesoroni, now called S. Spirito, and is in the Leonine City, near to the gate styled the Saxon Gate (*Posterula Saxonum*). In this church King Burgred of Mercia was after-

[1] *Op. cit.* 216, note. [2] *G.R.*, ii. 109 and 137.
[3] See Lappenberg, i. 206, notes.

wards buried.[1] In 884 King Alfred persuaded Pope Marinus to relieve it from all dues.[2]

We don't know when Ini died, but he probably did not survive his hard journey to Italy long. Nor do we know whether he was buried in St. Peter's with Caedwalla, or in the church the foundation of which is attributed to himself. A late legend says that he adopted the dress of a man of humble rank and lived on at Rome with his wife in obscurity. Gibbon sees a reference to his pilgrimage to Rome in a sentence in the philippic addressed by Pope Gregory II. to Leo the Iconoclast, in which he accuses him of being alone deaf to the voice of the Shepherd, while he, the Pope, was actually preparing for the visit of one of the most powerful monarchs of the remote and interior kingdoms of the West, who wished to receive baptism at his hands.[3]

Ini had two sisters—St. Cuthburga and St. Cwenburga. Cuthburga was given in marriage to Aldfrid, king of the Northumbrians, but with the consent of her husband she presently dedicated herself to God, first at Barking under the Abbess Hildelitha, and afterwards as Superior of the convent at Wimborne, "now," says Malmesbury, "a mean village, but once containing a full company of religious." Her sister joined her there.[4]

We will now turn again to the ecclesiastical history of Wessex. We saw how that kingdom

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub an.* 874.
[2] Pseudo-Asser and Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 484 and 560.
[3] Gibbon, ed. Bury, 259 and note 36, vi. 148.
[4] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ad an.* 718.

remained for some time without a bishop after Wini was expelled from his see by King Coinwalch, how he then induced Chlothaire, the nephew of the Frankish bishop Agilberht, who had been Bishop of Wessex before Wini, and had also been driven away by Coinwalch, to accept the see. This was about the year 670, and after Theodore had become Archbishop of Canterbury. Theodore, in fact, consecrated him.[1] Chlothaire was among the bishops who attended Theodore's Council of Herutford in September 673.[2] He died in the year 676.[3] On his death he was succeeded by Hædde, who was consecrated by Archbishop Theodore in London.[4] It is not quite clear who he was. The fact is, there were two bishops of the name about this time, one in Wessex and one in Mercia, and Bede does not clearly distinguish between them. The difficulty is increased by the disturbed condition of the current history of Wessex at this time. A further difficulty has been created by another sentence in Bede. In describing the work of St. Hilda at Streaneshalch (*i.e.* Whitby), he tells us that five alumni of that monastery afterwards became bishops. One of these was "Ætla," who, he adds, became Bishop of Dorchester.[5] I have no doubt myself that this name is a scribe's corruption, and that it was originally written Ætta, which seems a

[1] *Bede*, iii. 7. [2] *Ib.* iv. 5.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 12; Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 535.
[4] *Bede*, iv. 12. [5] *Op. cit.* iv. 23.

form of Hædde, but I am disposed to think that this Hædde was the Mercian bishop so called, and not the Bishop of Winchester.

I believe it was Hædde who first really planted a see at Winchester, as we know it was he who removed the body of St. Birin thither. Bede having reported the burial of Birin at Dorchester goes on to say: "But many years after, Hædde, being bishop, the body of Birinus was translated thence to Winchester and laid in the Church of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul."[1] The early see of Dorchester had then come to an end. It is not heard of again as the seat of a bishropric till the year 869.

Bede writes a handsome panegyric of Bishop Hædde of which it has been said that it would possibly be more appropriate to his successor Daniel. He calls him a good and a just man, whose episcopal success was dependent more upon his natural virtues than his literary qualities.[2] William of Malmesbury, however, qualifies this verdict of Bede's, and says he had read some letters of Hædde showing considerable literary skill. He calls them *formales epistolas non nimis indocte compositas*.[3]

Hædde was a warm patron and encourager of the monasteries in his kingdom, and it is a pity we do not know more about his work in this behalf. As we have seen, he had doubtless a

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 7.
[2] *Bede*, v. 18.
[3] *G.P.*, ed. Hamilton, p. 159.

good deal to do with the foundation of Abingdon,[1] and, as we shall see, he was the cherished friend of the real founder of Malmesbury—namely, St. Aldhelm. He has also very strong claims to have been the re-founder of perhaps the most romantic of all English monasteries—namely, Glastonbury. About the latter I am tempted to quote a picturesque passage from Dr. Bright. He says: "A more illustrious place than any of those now mentioned in a purely ecclesiastical sense received a new endowment, which formed an era in its history. From 658, when Kenwalch drove the Britons beyond the Parret, their oldest sanctuary, 'the Isle of Avalon,' had come into Saxon hands. The one holy place of the conquered Britons which had lived through the storm of English conquest,[2] with its Old Church, originally of woven rods, then covered with wood and lead,[3] was inevitably abandoned by the one race and reverentially occupied by the other. Saxon ecclesiastics walked at will over the time-hallowed ground, ascended the 'Tor of the Archangel' on the east, looked northwards towards the Mendips, southwards towards the fen called Allermoor, and all around on similar marshes, with fair green islands rising out of them as Bekerey

[1] *Ante*, ii. 119, etc.

[2] Freeman, i. 426.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *de Antiq. Glast. Eccl.* and *Gest. Reg.*, i. 20. Dr. Bright says the English learned to call it Ealdcyrc: St. Joseph's Chapel afterwards rose on its site, west of the great church. *Op. cit.* 352, note 5.

or Little Ireland, and meadowy Ferramere and Andredesey, 'more beautiful than all the rest.'[1]

"A Saxon community of monks took possession of the wooden basilica of the Virgin, consecrated by the memory of so many real and legendary saints. The Ynys-vitrin of Celtic speech, afterwards called Avalon, settled down into its Saxon name of Glastonbury, and Bishop Hædde, on 6th July 680, granted lands in the district at Lantocal and in the isle of Ferramere to Hemgils the abbot by a deed which in its business-like brevity puts to shame not a few pompous pseudo-charters, while its solemn opening has a special emphasis as contrasting the change of the order with the changeless reign of our Lord Jesus Christ."[2] This deed is dated in July 680. Kemble accepts it as genuine, adding the note: "There is nothing in this charter to throw doubt upon its authenticity, except the disagreement between the year, the indiction of which should be VIII. instead of V. But the error is very intelligible in a modern copy."[3]

Dr. Bright goes on to say that we must also apparently assign to this period the foundation of a West Saxon monastery within the limits of the British kingdom of Damnonia at Exeter, the ancient Caer Wisc, for we find that about 687

[1] Dr. Bright takes care to give us an antidote to this pleasant picture by quoting a prosaic sentence from Malmesbury: *Glastonia in quodam recessu palustri posita . . . nec situ nec amoenitate delectabilis. Gest. Pont.*, ii. 9, 353, note 2.

[2] Bright, 352 and 353.

[3] *Cod. Dip.*, i. p. 24, note 2.

this house, then ruled by an abbot named Wulfard, opened its doors to receive a boy from the neighbouring Crediton, where, according to a tradition reported by Camden, he was born. "His name of Winfred was to be lost in the glory of St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany and Martyr."[1]

In Willibald's Life of St. Boniface the place is called Adestancastre, and in Othlon's Life of the Saint, Adescancastre,[2] both equivalents of Exeter.

Bishop Stubbs assigns the foundation of two smaller houses, with which Hædde had not improbably to do, to this time—namely, those of Tisbury and Nursling.[3]

Bede does not give us the precise date of Hædde's death, but merely says that he died in the beginning of the reign of Osred, who succeeded his father in 705.[4] His death-day was celebrated on the 7th of July, under which date it occurs in the *Acta Sanctorum*. William of Malmesbury makes him be buried at Glastonbury, which is most improbable; he was almost certainly buried at Winchester. Archbishop Theodore has left a proof of his regard for him in some rhyming lines which I have printed in an earlier page.[5]

Bede says that Pecthelm, Bishop of Whithern, who was for a long time either deacon or monk with Hædde's successor Aldhelm, was wont

[1] Bright, *op. cit.* 353 and 354.
[2] Pertz, *M.G.H.*, ii. 355; Bright, 353, note 7.
[3] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, ii. 874. [4] *Op. cit.* v. 18.
[5] *Ante*, ii. 161.

to relate that many miraculous cures had been wrought in the place where Hædde died through the merits of his sanctity, and that the people used to carry dust from his grave for the sick, which they put in water and then sprinkled those who were ill and caused them to drink it, "so that this holy earth being continually carried away, there was a considerable hole at the spot." [1]

A letter addressed to Hædde by Bishop Aldhelm is extant. From this it would appear that the former was at the time spending Christmas at one of Aldhelm's monasteries, probably at Malmesbury, and the latter writes to excuse his unwilling absence from the festivities of the period and from intercourse with Hædde on the ground that he was much occupied with his labours, which gave him too little time for study; "especially with the Roman law and the works of the Roman jurisconsults, and, what was more difficult to him, the discovery and explanation of the laws of metre and of verse-writing in all its various species, of which he enumerates a large number. He also speaks of the trouble he had in learning figures and calculations, in understanding the zodiac and the twelve signs that circle round the Pole, as also the mysteries of astrology and the computation of horoscopes, and he concludes by bidding the bishop salute all his flock (*omnem sodalium meorum caterva*) from the least to the greatest." [2]

It would appear that Hædde had offered op-

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 18. [2] Aldhelmi, *op.* ed. Giles, 96, 97.

position to the division of his immense see, and this has been justified with some reason on account of the anarchical condition in which the kingdom then was. "It was clear," it has been said, "that if the West Saxons were to remain one kingdom they must be in one diocese."

The Wessex diocese, however, had become altogether too big and unwieldy, for it included all England south of the Thames, except the dioceses of Kent, which was in the hands of the English, and its division had only been postponed until the death of the aged prelate who had presided over it so long. Archbishop Theodore's successor, Beorhtwald, had apparently pressed on the Wessex authorities the necessity for such a step, but they had delayed acting, and, according to the Bishop of London, Bishop Waldhere, in his letter to the Archbishop, reported that in the previous year it had been decreed at a Synod to suspend communion with Wessex if they did not quickly proceed to carry out the Archbishop's wishes in this respect (*statutum est illis non communicandum si non tuum judicium in ordinatione episcoporum implere festinarent*).[1]

The death of Hædde in 704 or 705, after an episcopate of nearly thirty years, at length removed the only obstacle to the necessary step, which was doubtless carried out at a Synod of the whole Wessex province. Wessex was now, in fact, divided into two sees. One, the old one with its seat at Winchester, retained the eastern and doubtless the

[1] Birch, No. 115, p. 170. The original text is in the British Museum.

more populous part of the kingdom, which probably included Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, and any parts of Wessex which lay north of the Thames and had not been appropriated by the Mercians. Over this was appointed Daniel—or Danihel, as his name is sometimes written. The other diocese, with its see at Sherborne, included, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the country to the west of Selwood, and comprised Wiltshire, Dorset, a large part, if not all Somerset, and the southern part of Devonshire—that is, all those parts of Wessex which had been conquered from the Britons after the constitution of that community, and were peopled by *saetas* or colonists. Over this new diocese was set the famous Abbot of Malmesbury, Aldhelm.

Daniel is said by Malmesbury to have been a native of the province, but his name seems to point to his having been a Briton, and he perhaps came from Western Wessex. Did he move eastward with Wynfrid, the later St. Boniface, who was his protégé? Malmesbury speaks of him as not wanting in learning (*literarum non egenus*).[1]

Cynehard, Bishop of Winchester, in a letter to Lullus, on the other hand, calls him "doctissimus,"[2] and Aldhelm's influence was too strong at the time, for any but a cultured man to acquire such a position. A curious story reported in *Mon. Mog.* 112, seems to hint that he was somewhat lazy and inactive, for it describes a vision in which he is represented in the lower regions presiding over a

[1] *G.P.*, p. 375. [2] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 432 ; *Mon. Mog.*, 269.

great multitude of children, mostly unbaptized. Malmesbury mentions some of his ascetic practices.[1]

According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Daniel visited Rome in the year 721. Bede does not tell us this, but says he was the first to perform ecclesiastical functions in the Isle of Wight, where, "on account of the affliction of eternal subjection, no one had received the degree of the ministry or the see of a bishop" (*in qua tamen ob erumnam aeternae subjectionis, nemo gradum ministerii ac sedis episcopalis ante Danihelem . . . accepit*).[2]

Bede further tells us that during his episcopate it was resolved by the decree of a Synod in the province of the South Saxons, which had previously formed part of the "parrochia" (*i.e.* the diocese) of Winchester, and been subject to Daniel, that it should have its own bishop, and accordingly Eadberht, abbot of the monastery which had been founded at Selsey by Wilfred, was appointed to the post. Nunna, king of the South Saxons and brother of Ini, is said to have conveyed certain lands at Hugabeorg and Dene in Sussex to Bishop Eadberht.[3] I don't know when Eadberht died, but Bede tells us that when he did so he was succeeded by Eolla. We read in another charter dated in 714[4] of Nunna professing to convey to Abbot Beadufrid and to the brethren living in the isle called Selsey, where he

[1] *G.P.*, pp. 357 and 358, note. [2] *Bede*, iv. 16.

[3] Kemble, 1000; Birch, *Cart.* 144. The original charter belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, but see Introduction.

[4] Kemble, 999; Birch, 132. I will not guarantee the genuineness of this and the last-named charter.

says he hopes his body may be buried in the presence of Bishop Eolla and the abbots and others who were there, and certain lands at Herotunum and Bracklaeshamstede and Sideleshamstede. This grant was afterwards confirmed by Athelstane and his wife Aetheldrytha. By another deed Nunna is made to grant lands at Piperinges near the river Tarent (Darent) to a certain Berhfrid (qualified as *famulus Dei—i.e.* a priest or monk) on condition that prayers were there said continually for his soul. In this conveyance Eolla, in return for the payment of certain money, with the consent of the brethren and of "our King Nunna," transfers the estate to Wulfhere[1] in perpetuity. Bede says that a few years before his own day, Eolla having died (*ex hac luce subtracto*), the bishopric had ceased to exist and there was no see there when he wrote (*episcopatus usque hodie cessavit*).[2]

Daniel, as Bede tells us in his preface, was Bishop of Winchester when he wrote, and had sent him some written communications about the ecclesiastical history of his own see and about those of the South Saxons and of the Isle of Wight.[3] These, he implies, were the foundation of his own account of those districts.

In the year 718 Daniel wrote a letter of commendation for Wynfrid, otherwise known as St. Boniface, on his final departure for Friesia. This recommended him to all kings, dukes, bishops, abbots, presbyters,

[1] Kemble, 1001 ; Birch, 145.
[2] *Bede*, v. 18.
[3] Bede, *loc. cit.*

and spiritual sons, asking them to "show hospitality after the manner of the patriarchs" to the young missionary.[1]

Daniel also carried on a correspondence with his protégé Boniface after the latter's departure for Germany, showing him to have been a wise and prudent counsellor. He advises him to argue with the heathen men whom he was to try and convert not in an insulting and irritating way but quietly and with moderation. He speaks also against those counsels of perfection which are so attractive to some ecclesiastical minds, and against attempting to draw rigid lines between the good and bad and keeping aloof entirely from false teachers. He also suggests topics to him by which, as Dr. Bright says, he was to draw the polytheist by a Socratic process into difficulties. "Since the gods had a beginning, what of the world? If it had a beginning, who made it? Not the gods, who were confessedly not eternal. If it was eternal, who ruled it before the gods? How was the first god produced? Will any more come into being? How do they know what god is the mightiest? Do they expect temporal or eternal happiness? Do the gods need their sacrifices?"[2]

Daniel's signature is attached to a spurious grant[3] by King Ini of lands to Abbot Berwald of Glastonbury situated on the river Tan or Tone, and at Pouelt and Duluting (Doulting) in Somerset. It is dated

[1] *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.*, iii. p. 257. [2] *Ib.* iii. pp. 271 *et seq.*
[3] Birch, 113. Charter in the Taunton Museum.

June 705. Daniel's name is also attached to his consent to Aldhelm retaining the control of his several abbeys, which is dated in the same year, and marked as doubtful by Kemble.[1]

The last event about him recorded by Bede was the consecration of Tatuini as Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Berohtwald when Daniel was one of the consecrating bishops.[2] He outlived the great historian, and the close of his life is therefore outside my present work. All we need say of it here is that from his correspondence with Boniface he seems to have grown blind in his old age.[3] According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he resigned the see of Winchester in 744 and died in 745, having been bishop forty-three years. William of Malmesbury says he retired to Malmesbury Abbey, where he ended his days and was buried.

Let us now turn to Aldhelm.

Haedde's episcopacy witnessed a great religious and literary movement in Wessex and the development of a vigorous monastic life, where up to this time the history of the Church had not been very stable, interesting, or edifying, nor had it produced any person of mark or particular merit. It was now to turn over a new leaf, and the figure which looms out in the darkness and mist as the first great native ecclesiastic of southern Britain, is that of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards Bishop of Sherborne. There has been discussion

[1] Kemble, 54; Birch, 114. [2] *Op. cit.* v. 23.
[3] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 343–349.

as to the proper way of spelling his name and as to its meaning; the former must be taken as settled by the saint himself in his acrostics, while both he and his pupil Æthelwald treat it as meaning "old helmet," and make puns upon it.

Faricius, the earliest biographer of Aldhelm whose work is extant, was, according to Malmesbury, born in Italy (*sub Tusco natus aere*), and was ignorant of English.[1] He became a monk at Malmesbury, and afterwards, in 1100 A.D., Abbot of Abingdon. He tells us in his work that he used some early materials, written *barbarice atque Latine*, by which he doubtless means in English and Latin. The former, which had suffered much in the Danish wars, he could only read with the assistance of an interpreter (*ex interprete*). His work is printed as an appendix to Dr. Giles' collection of Aldhelm's works.

Another and more elaborate life of the saint was written by William of Malmesbury, and forms the fifth book of his *Liber Pontificum*. In addition to Faricius, he quotes from a book he calls *Manualem librum regis Elfredi*, otherwise referred to by him as "*liber, proprius quem patria lingua Handboc id est Manualem librum appellavit.*"[2] This may be the same early book as that referred to by Faricius. He also uses the documents and traditions he found at Malmesbury.

The chronology of Aldhelm's life has been much confused by his biographers, who have been

[1] *G.P.*, ed. Hamilton, 331.
[2] *Ib.* 333 and note 1, and *G.R.*, v. 123.

misled by spurious charters, and have caused much trouble to modern investigators. Thus William of Malmesbury tells us that when Aldhelm died in 709 he was not less than seventy years old, which would put his birth in 639, and make him thirty-one when Hadrian first came to Canterbury. This is absolutely inconsistent with Aldhelm's own statements about his early life, which are conclusive. In fact Malmesbury, and those who have followed him, had to duplicate Aldhelm's career at Canterbury in order to make their theory fit in at all with the facts.

Aldhelm, according to Faricius, was of royal descent, and the son of Kenten (*i.e.* of Kentwine, King of Wessex). In a letter written to him by "a certain Scot of unknown name" (*Scotus ignoti nominis*)[1] is the phrase, "You were brought up by a holy man of our nation" (*a quodam sancto viro de nostro genere nutritus es*).[2]

Malmesbury calls this Irishman "Maildulf, otherwise named Meldum." Bede, who does not otherwise mention him, says in speaking of Aldhelm, that he became the abbot of a monastery which was called "Mailduf's town,"[3] by which he clearly means Malmesbury.

[1] See Giles, *Opera*, p. 98.

[2] Dr. Giles in the work just cited, and Mr. Hole, *D.C.B.*, i. 434, both identified this Scot with Cellan, the successor of Ultan, brother of St. Fursey, as Abbot of Peronne. Malmesbury quotes a letter written by Cellan to Aldhelm (*G.P.*, 337). M. Taube, who has found a number of Cellan's Latin verses at Florence, does the same, and has made the statement almost certain. The fact that Aldhelm was brought up by an Irishman, has thus the best of witnesses, since Cellan and Aldhelm were contemporaries.

[3] *Op. cit.* v. 18. *Maildufi urbem.*

Maildulf was one of those Irish missionaries who came into South Britain about this time, of whom Dicul, who settled at Selsea in Sussex, was another. Malmesbury says of him,[1] "A certain Meldum or Maildulf, a Scot by origin, a philosopher by erudition, and a monk by profession, a voluntary exile from his native country, spent his life as a hermit and taught a school at Malmesbury for his subsistence, which grew into a monastery." He adds that a small basilica existed at Malmesbury in his own day, which had been founded by Maildulf.[2] All this is quite consistent.

Aldhelm became the pupil of Maildulf,[3] and after spending some time with him went to complete his studies at the famous school at Canterbury, which had been founded by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian. This cannot have been earlier than 670, when Hadrian was appointed abbot, and it is not unlikely that he, in fact, accompanied Chlothaire when he went in 670 to Canterbury to be

[1] *G.P.*, ed. Hamilton, 333 and 334. [2] *Ib.* 334 and 345.

[3] Plummer has a long note on the various forms of the name, and shows that, as given by Bede and others, it is a Saxon corruption of the Irish Maelduib, Maildulf. He says it has no Irish equivalent, and its last syllable is probably a mere contamination with the common Anglo-Saxon termination "wulf" or "ulf." From the Irish name came various early forms of the name Malmesbury, and notably Maldubia civitas as given in the *Mon. Moguntiana*, p. 300. There was another form of the name, however, which suggest that the founder of Malmesbury was called Maelduin. Thus Faricius calls him Meldun—hence the form of the place-name Meldunesburg. *See* Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 310–311.

The name Maelduin was a very common Irish one, and a famous bearer of it was the hero of the well-known Irish tale, *immram curaig Maildúin*—The Navigation of Maelduin's coracle- which Tennyson has made known to English readers in his *Voyage of Maeldune*. *Ib.* 310.

consecrated Bishop of Wessex by Theodore. In a letter addressed by Aldhelm to Hadrian, he speaks of him as his teacher when he was very young (*rudis infantiae*). Faricius styles him at this time *pusio* (*i.e.* a youth).

In a rubric to an early MS. of Aldhelm's *Ænigmata* in the British Museum, perhaps written in the ninth century, he is called a scholar of Theodore—*Theodori rhetoris discipulo*[1]—and he speaks in one of his letters, of Theodore as well as Hadrian, as having personally taught him. Referring to the latter, he says in another of his letters, *Theodoro insula pontificatus fungenti, ab ipso tirocinio rudimentorum in flore philosophicæ artis adulto; necnon et ejusdem sodalitatis cliente Adriano duntaxat urbanitate enucleata ineffabiliter praedito.*[2]

According to Malmesbury, his teachers were greatly surprised with Aldhelm's progress in Greek and Latin studies, and he no doubt became the most accomplished scholar of the Canterbury school.

Presently his health broke down in Kent, perhaps from too much application, and we are told that he returned to Malmesbury, being then considerably older (*majusculus*), and took up his residence again in Maildulf's monastery.

According to King Alfred's *Manual*, Aldhelm was not only skilled as a Latin scholar but also composed songs in English. It says they were

[1] MS. *Reg.* 12 C, xxiii. fol. 83; Wright, *Biog. Britt.* i. 210, note.
[2] Giles, *op. cit.* 94.

unequalled in any age. He could not only write a poem in English, but also compose a tune for it and used to sing it to the tune or recite it (*eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere*).[1]

To be a poet it was then necessary in fact to be also a musician, and Aldhelm's biographer assures us that he excelled in all the different instruments then in use. (*Musicæ autem artis omnia instrumenta, quæ fidibus vel fistulis aut aliis varietatibus melodiæ fieri possunt, et memoria tenuit et in quotidiano usu habuit.*)[2]

These accomplishments stood him in good stead if we are to credit a pretty story told in the *Manual* or *Handboc*, and which I cannot do better than report in Dr. Bright's graceful paraphrase. "It seems," he says, "that the rude West Saxons of the district were wont to hasten home after hearing mass without waiting for the sermon, sometimes, perhaps, to neglect church altogether. Aldhelm, who had learned to sing and to compose ballads while a student at Canterbury, saw his way to making use of his talent. He took his station on the bridge which crossed the Avon southwards and confronted the passers-by who were intent on their marketings, but, like all Saxons, were fascinated by music, and used to stop when he began a lively song. Having done this more than once and gathered a crowd of listeners, he glided from such minstrelsy into a strain that brought in sacred words and brought home serious

[1] *G.P.*, 336. [2] Faricius, ed. Giles, 357.

thoughts. This proved quite effective, where ecclesiastical censures would have done no good whatever."[1]

Three years after his return to Malmesbury we must date a letter sent by Aldhelm to his old master at Canterbury. It was addressed "to Adrian, the most venerable father and teacher of my rude infancy (*rudis infantiae venerando praeceptori*), by a servant (*vernaculus*) of the family of Christ, and the humble pupil of your piety. Greeting, etc." "I confess, my very cherished one whom I embrace with the feeling of deep affection, that since I was prevented three years ago on my departure from Kent from joining in your friendly society, I have ardently desired to be with you and have determined, if opportunity arises, to come to you again. This will depend, however, on different impediments not intervening, and especially the bodily weakness which is wearing out the very marrow of my wasting limbs, and which was the reason for making me return home when I was with you before."[2] On his return home he joined Maildulf's monastery again, where he was no doubt much more learned than any of his companions, and where his part was doubtless that of a teacher rather than a scholar. It is plain that he continued to live at Malmesbury for some years under Maildulf.

His pupils were greatly devoted to him. From

[1] Wm. of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 336; Bright, *op. cit.* 296–297.
[2] *Op.* Ald., ed. Giles, 330.

one of them, Æthelwald, we have a letter written to him and addressed to "Your pious paternity, from your suppliant scholar;" he also speaks of him as his most beloved preceptor. The letter is very rhetorical, and looks in fact like an exercise in letter-writing sent to the master for his criticism. He, however, speaks of his projected visit beyond the sea with a protégé (*clicus*) of Aldhelm named Winfrid, and tells him he is sending him three poems, one written in hexameters and consisting of seventy lines, a second written in octosyllabic verse, and the third containing an account of his journey with Winfrid.[1] These poems are extant.

It is a pity that in the poem devoted to his journey he tells us so little we care to know, and takes up so much space with rhetorical padding. We do learn, however, that the two friends went through Devon and Cornwall, and therefore through the country of the West Welsh (who must have been friendly), and, as Mr. Wildman says, they doubtless passed over Dartmoor or even along the Roman road to the south of it.[2] The only incident recorded is how the travellers took refuge in a cottage during a heavy storm, and left it just before it was struck by lightning and then sheltered in a church.[3] The two companions were doubtless on their way to Ireland, for Æthelwald speaks in his letter of their voyage over the seas (*de transmarini itineris peregrinatione*).[4] It was

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 101–102.
[2] Wildman, *Aldhelm*, 116–117.
[3] *Ib.* 116–117.
[4] Giles, 102.

probably in answer to the letter of Æthelwald just quoted that Aldhelm himself wrote one, which runs thus :—

"To Æthelwald, my dearest son, and also my disciple, greeting from Aldhelm, the humblest of the servants of God. Inasmuch as I have been wont betimes, to warn you by word of mouth about many things ; now that you are absent I do not cease to exhort you by letter, by the paternal authority of God. I am doing it because I am urged, as the Apostle says, by the love of Christ. Therefore my dearest son, now growing into man's estate, do not give way to the vain enticements of this world, such as daily drinkings and feastings, which are unprofitable when indulged in too frequently, and for a long time ; nor waste your time in scampering about on horseback, nor in the pleasure of bodily delight, which are to be execrated. Remember always that it is written, 'Youth and pleasure are vain' (*vana sunt*). I admonish you, therefore, be not a devoted slave of money and of the worldly arrogance which is so odious to God, remembering the saying, 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' For the Son of man (*Filius hominis*) shall come in His glory and that of the Holy Angels, and shall recompense each according to his works. Much rather, my dearest son, be always attentive to divine readings and sacred prayers, and if you desire besides to know something of secular letters, do it only with the object that inasmuch as the sacred text is

constructed according to grammatical rules, you may penetrate the profoundest and most sacred senses of the divine words by knowing the diverse rules which govern their construction. Omit not to put this at once among the books which you are wont to read, that by its frequent perusal it may warn you in my stead. Farewell."[1]

William of Malmesbury moralises on the letter, and deplores that the advice of Aldhelm was not taken by the monks who in his day called themselves his followers (*i.e.* the monks of Malmesbury), and that shrinking from the attractions of pleasure they did not imitate his sanctity and learning, adding that their foundations would not have been torn up if they had not transgressed his instructions. Meanwhile he says of Aldhelm, "He is silent as though he knoweth not (*i.e.* he was dead), and takes no notice, as if he seeth not, while we pass our time in peril, and his 'privileges' are derided by rebellious men and trampled under foot by tyrants. Let us turn again to him, however late, that he may cast the eye of his pity on his household."[2]

It was probably to Winfrid, the companion of Æthelwald, that Aldhelm wrote another letter, in which it has been thought the name is written Wilfrid by mistake. In this he says he had heard of his intended journey to Ireland in pursuit of knowledge, and he warns him against

[1] Ald., *Opp.*, ed. Giles, 332 and 3; Browne, *Aldhelm*, 92 and 93.
[2] Browne, *op. cit.* 93 and 94.

the dangers of pagan philosophy to the faith and especially of mythology. What benefit, he asks, can orthodox truth derive from the studies of a man who spends his strength in examining into the incests of the impure Proserpine, the adventures of the petulant Hermione, the bacchanals of Lupercus, or the parasites of Priapus. These things have passed away and become as nothing before the cross, victorious over death (*alma mortis morte stipite patibuli affixa, solo tenus diruta evanuere*). He also counsels him against keeping loose company and wearing extravagant dress.[1]

At Malmesbury, Aldhelm was ordained a priest, and eventually appointed abbot in the place of Maildulf. Faricius dates the latter appointment in 675, which is quite inconsistent with Aldhelm's statements already named. He, in fact, takes it from the so-called charter of foundation of Malmesbury, which is now acknowledged to be a fabrication, and it seems clear that it was not Bishop Chlothaire but Bishop Haedde who consecrated him as abbot.

Dr. Bright suggests that up to this time the community had been a small one consisting of voluntary inmates, and that Aldhelm was its first abbot in our sense of the word.

He introduced the Benedictine rule into the monastery; this follows from two lines in his poem *de laudibus Virginum*, where he says of Benedict—

> "Primo qui statuit nostræ certamina vitæ,
> Qualiter optatam teneant cœnobia normam."[2]

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 337. [2] *Ib.* 159.

His biographers say that on his appointment as abbot the place began to flourish greatly and its sparing resources to multiply. He, no doubt, greatly enlarged its possessions during his life. They grew, we are told, from 30 cassati to 400, but, unfortunately, the charters themselves referring to these gifts have all been condemned as spurious. Malmesbury says that he superseded the lowly church which had been built by Maildulf, by a statelier building in honour of "the Lord and Saviour," and of the apostles Peter and Paul, and adds that he afterwards built two other churches within the precincts dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael.[1] He further tells us that the largest of these churches still survived in his day (he was writing about 1125), and that it surpassed all early churches in Britain.[2] Not a stone now remains of this building.

This will be a fitting place to refer to another church with which Aldhelm had to do. It is described in a poem on a basilica built by Bugga, whom he calls "a daughter of Centwine king of the Saxons" (doubtless, therefore, his own sister). It tells us that the church was built in the reign of King Ini, "who now governs the kingdom of the Saxons as of right" (*qui nunc imperium Saxorum jure gubernat*). Aldhelm describes the antiphonal

[1] *Gesta Pont.*, 345 and 361.

[2] Malmesbury says that when the Church of St. Mary was being built and the stone and wood for the building were being collected, one beam proved too short, when it was considerably lengthened by the prayers of the saint. He adds that this church twice escaped when the rest of the monastery was burnt down.

chanting of the psalms and hymns at this church, in which the voices of the monks and of the nuns had each a part.

He tells us further that Bugga built a new and lofty shrine containing altars "under twice six names" (*i.e.* to the twelve apostles), and above the apse she also sanctified an altar to the Virgin. He describes the antiphonal singing of the monks and nuns in the double monastery,—

> "*Fratres concordi laudemus voce tonantem*
> *Cantibus et crebris conclamet turba sororum,*"

and speaks of the lector or lectrise untying the sacred volumes—

> "*Et lector lectrixve volumina sacra resolvat.*"

He mentions the rejoicings on the natal day of the Virgin, which he fixes as the 15th of August, and then he breaks out into a fine description of the building. I will borrow largely from Bishop Browne's version. "The house is resplendent with serene light when the sun shines through its glazed windows, diffusing lucid beams through the four-square temple. Many are the ornaments of the new basilica, the golden 'pallia' glowing yellow with their twisted threads, the beautiful draperies of the sacred altar, the golden chalice flashing with gems as the heavens glow with glowing stars. There stands the broad silver paten which bears the divine remedies of our life, for by the Body of Christ and his Sacred Blood we are fed. There is the cross with its golden and silver

and gem-bedecked plates. There is the censer girt all round with capitals (*capitellis*). It hangs from on high while the incense pours through its apertures, so that the Sabæan fragrance breathes ambrosial clouds when the priest offers up the sacrifice."[1]

We have seen that Malmesbury attributes to Aldhelm the building of a church near Wareham, in Dorset. He tells us further that it still existed in his time, though unroofed except in a place above the altar. It was said that no rain ever fell within its precincts, and that every attempt to re-roof it had been frustrated by the intervention of the Almighty.[2]

Bishop Browne has some interesting notes about this church. Malmesbury puts it two miles from the sea, probably where Corfe Castle now stands. That position may well have been two miles only from the sea in those times, when it is probable the marshy land at the head of Poole harbour was covered by the tide. The bishop identifies a great wall made of Saxon herring-bone work of unrivalled dimensions and excellence, with early Romanesque windows at intervals, now incorporated in the walls of Corfe Castle, as a fragment of Aldhelm's church.

It is interesting to remember that not far off, and west of Swanage, is a well-known headland once called St. Aldhelm's Head, now corrupted into St. Alban's Head, on which is still a small chapel dedicated to the saint, which, however, in

[1] Giles, *Op. Ald.*, 117; Browne's *Aldhelm*, 242 and 3.
[2] Wm. of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 363–4.

its present condition, is a good deal later than his time.

In addition to Wareham, Aldhelm also seems to have founded two smaller monasteries, daughters of Malmesbury, one at Frome, and the other at Bradford-on-Avon, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and St. Lawrence respectively. William of Malmesbury tells us that in his day these two monasteries had perished, but their churches still remained. At Frome, Dr. Browne describes part of a shaft, ornamented with interwoven dragons, as being embedded in the tower of the church.[1]

Of the other small church (*ecclesiola*, as Malmesbury calls it), dedicated to St. Lawrence, at Bradford-on-Avon, it used to be claimed that it still existed intact, and it was identified with the very fine Saxon church at Bradford, but the latter is now almost universally referred to a later date, and deemed to have been built after the Danish invasion, which in all probability destroyed Aldhelm's church. There are, however, remains of two Anglo-Saxon crosses at Bradford, which may well date from his time.

Aldhelm's life as abbot was no doubt a strenuous one, and we find him at this time writing several interesting letters. Among them is one sent to a certain Eahfrid, in which Archbishop Theodore, who died in 696, is mentioned as still living. The letter is especially noteworthy for its turgidity and involved rhetoric. It was written on Eahfrid's return after an absence of six years, and in it

[1] Browne's *Aldhelm*, 168 and 180.

Aldhelm speaks in sarcastic and bitter terms of the practice of Englishmen going for their studies to Ireland, when they had such good teachers in England.

Bishop Browne well describes its style as trying, and "totally, terribly turgid" from its alliterations and abusive angriness. It begins with the following astounding sentence: "*Primitus* (*pantorum procerum praetorumque pio potissimum, paternoque praesertim, privilegio*) *panegyricum poemataque passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes.*" The letter then runs thus: "We have heard from newsmongers that you have arrived safely at the ambrosial shores of the British territory, having left the wintry climes and storms of the island of Hibernia, where for a triple two years' period you have drawn nourishment from the udder of wisdom (*uber sophiae*). . . . Our ears have been tingled by assertions beyond the bounds of mere rumour, of those who dwell on Scotic soil, with whom you yourself have lived, assertions like peals of thunder from crashing clouds, and through many and wide stadia of the land, the opinion spreads and grows in force. The coming and going of those who pass by the ship's track, the whirlpools of the sea, hence and thence, hither and thither, is so frequent that it resembles some brotherhood of bees, busily storing the nectar in the comb. . . . I, a wretched small man (*misellus homuncio*), have revolved these things as I wrote them down, and have been tortured by an anxious question. Why should Hibernia,

whither students, ship-borne, flock together in summer; why should Hibernia be exalted by some ineffable privilege as though here on the fertile turf of Britain, teachers of Greek and Latin (*didascali Argivi Romanive Quirites*) cannot be found, who, solving the seven problems of the celestial library, are able to unlock them to untutored smatterers. The fields of Hibernia are as rich in learners, and in the exuberant number (*pascuosa numerositate*) of students as the pivots of the pole quiver with the vibrations of the glittering constellations, and yet Britain (if you like to say so), placed almost at the extreme verge of the world, possesses a glowing sun and a lustrous moon, that is to say, Theodore, the archbishop of the island, who has grown old in acquiring the flowers of philosophic art, and Adrian his companion in the brotherhood of learning, and ineffably endowed with pure urbanity."[1] Aldhelm concludes his letter with an account of the many Irishmen who attended the school at Canterbury, and their wild behaviour when there, which I have already described.

It was not only his immediate students who repaired to Aldhelm for help. We have previously mentioned a letter he received from a Scot which, as it stands, is anonymous, but which has been with great probability identified as written by Cellan the Abbot of Peronne.

This proves the wide repute of our Saint. It is addressed "To the Lord Aldhelm, holy and most

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 91–95; Browne, *Aldhelm*, 261–264.

wise, to Christ most dear; a Scot of name unknown sends greeting in the eternal God." It then continues.

"Knowing how you excel in intellect, in Roman excellence, and in the varied flowers of letters after the manner of the Greeks, I would rather learn from your mouth, the purest fount of knowledge, than drink from any other spring, especially from the "turbid Master" (*turbulento magistro praesertim*"; to whom Cellan applies the phrase, I do not know). I beseech you to take me and teach me, because the brightness of wisdom shines in you beyond many lecturers, and you understand the minds of foreigners who desire to acquire knowledge, for you have been to Rome, and besides you were yourself taught by a certain holy man of our race. Let this serve as a summary of reasons. . . . You have a certain book, which is not more than an occupation for two weeks. I wish to read it. This I would bespeak for a short time, not because I do not need it longer, but for fear lest my request should create an unfavourable impression in your mind. A servant also and horses I suppose I shall get (*ut opinor, adipiscar*). Next harvest I shall hope to obtain from you a favourable reply. May divine grace attend you whilst you pray for me."[1] This letter, which ends with a sacred poem of twenty-one lines, was perhaps written before Cellan became abbot. In it, as we see, the writer speaks of Aldhelm having visited Rome.

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 98; Bishop Browne, 259–261.

This seems to make it almost certain he was there, notwithstanding Stubb's doubts, based on the fact that there is no authority for it in his own extant writings.[1]

His biographer, Faricius, refers to this visit, which, he says, was at the invitation of Pope Sergius I., who, he adds, had often heard of him. Sergius was only made Pope in 687, and died in September 701. This limits the date of his journey, and makes it probable that the tradition is true that he accompanied King Caedwalla thither in the year 688.[2] William of Malmesbury says that the chief object of his visit was to get certain privileges for his monasteries.

While in Rome, we are told he was allowed by Pope Sergius to celebrate Mass in the Lateran Basilica. Faricius reports that on one occasion when he was doing so, in taking off his chasuble he threw it behind him, whereupon it became suspended on a sunbeam which was passing through a window.[3] Malmesbury says this chasuble still existed in his day at Malmesbury, and proved the saint to have been a tall man. He describes it as made of delicate materials, dyed scarlet, with black scrolls and embroidered with peacocks (*pavonium*).[4]

While at Rome he is said to have performed another miracle, by which he cleared the Pope from a calumny. A child had been born in the

[1] *D.C.B.*, i. 78.
[2] Wright, *Biog. Britt.*, i. 216.
[3] Giles, *Op. Ald.*, 360.
[4] *G.P.*, p. 365.

house of the Pope's chamberlain. It was reported that its mother was a nun, and rumour went about that the Pontiff was its father, for, it was said, they had been much together. Aldhelm defended the Pope. He first urged that it was criminal thus to suspect their chief pastor; secondly, if the Pope were attacked in this way it would destroy his influence with the Britons and others beyond the seas; thirdly, it seemed to him incredible that one who had been planted in a position of such responsibility should thus commit himself. Finding that these, not very conclusive reasons, were unavailing with the Pope's detractors, he bade them bring the infant to him, who should confound them out of its own mouth. The proposal was received with laughter. The child, however, who was nine days old, was brought in and baptized by Aldhelm, and then asked about its paternity. It then told Aldhelm that Sergius was, and always had been, innocent of the charge; and Rome, we are led to believe by William of Malmesbury, was delirious with joy.[1] He tells us that Aldhelm refused to disclose the real name of the father, since his object was to defend the living and not to accuse the dead.

Aldhelm is said to have returned home with a grant of privileges for his monastery which, if it ever existed, is certainly not extant in the spurious grant given by Malmesbury. He also brought a store of relics.

[1] *Gest. Pont.*, p. 367.

We are told by the same biographer that he also brought with him a white marble altar, 4 feet long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, wrought all round with crosses. As it was being carried along, the camel (which Malmesbury suggests was probably the beast of burden employed) stumbled; the stone fell off and was miraculously mended by Aldhelm. Malmesbury says that the defect still existed when he wrote. With grim conclusiveness Bishop Browne tests the story by a calculation made by a mason, from which it follows that such a stone would weigh a ton, so that it must have been a transcendental camel. Aldhelm is said to have presented it to King Ini, who in turn gave it to the church in the royal *vicus* or village of Briwetune (*i.e.* Bruton), where it remained in Malmesbury's time.[1]

On his return to Malmesbury from Rome, Aldhelm was met by his monks with cross, thurible and processional chant, while his lay flock expressed their joy more boisterously by dancing and other gestures of the body.

About the year 692, when Wilfrid was having his great feud with the King and chief men of Northumbria, Aldhelm wrote a letter addressed to "the clerks of Bishop Wilfrid," who had abandoned him in his trials. He gave him his own support, and entreated them on his (metaphorical) knees not

[1] He says this church was dedicated to St. Mary, and that Aldhelm built a second larger church there dedicated to St. Peter, the east front of which had recently been rebuilt (*S.P.*, 374).

to be scandalised by the raging storm that had shaken the foundations of the Church, the echoes of which had reached him, even if some of them had to join their prelate's lot in expulsion from home and compulsory wanderings abroad. Let them not be thankless to one who had lovingly trained them from early childhood to opening manhood; let them cling to him as bees cling to their king (*rex earum*, he says), through all weathers; let them remember the scorn and derision that would overtake them if they were laymen and were to forsake a kind lord; what then, he proceeds, will be said of you if you leave alone in his exile, a bishop who nourished and brought you up?[1]

Certain verses in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which have been supposed to have been composed while Aldhelm was entering the great Roman Basilica, have by T. Wright, Dr. Bright and Stubbs been more probably treated as composed for his own great church at Malmesbury, which was the view of William of Malmesbury himself.

Dr. Browne points out that the first church in England dedicated to St. Peter alone, was York Minster, a generation later than this. I will now give the same author's free translation of the verses.

"Here in this fair place, Peter and Paul, the lights of a dark world, the chief fathers who guide the reins of the people, are revealed with frequent song.

[1] Giles, 435; Bright, 446.

"Keybearer of heaven, who openest the portal of the upper air and disclosest the whole realms of the Thunderer of the skies, mercifully hear the vows of the people who pray, moistening the dry ground with showers of tears. Accept the sobs of those who groan for their offences, who burn up with frequent prayer the sins of their life. Lo, thou greatest doctor, Paul ("*maximus en Doctor Paulus*"), called from the heavens as Saul (now with changed name Paul), when thou didst aim at setting the old law above Christ, and after darkness didst begin to see the clear light. Open now benignant ears to the voice of them that pray, and as their guardian stretch forth with Peter thy right hand to the trembling ones, who flock to the sacred threshold of the church; that here may be granted continuous indulgence of offences, flowing from abundant piety, and from the fount on high which never through the ages grows sluggish for men of worth."[1]

Another poem of a sacred character consists of a series of fourteen sections addressed respectively to the altars of the Virgin and thirteen apostles. It has a tie with that last cited, in fact three lines are identical in both. The names are in this order—the Virgin, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James the Lord's cousin, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Zelotes, Thaddeus, Judas Iscariot, and Matthias. It will be noted that Paul is made an apostle, while Judas Iscariot shares a

[1] Giles, *Op. Ald.*, 129; Browne, *St. Aldhelm*, 254 and 5.

section with Matthias. A line from those given to Judas is quoted by Bede, namely—

"*Culmen Apostolici celsum perdebat honoris.*"

The Virgin, who is apostrophised as *Foemina praepollens, et sacra puerpera virgo*, is urged mercifully to hear the prayers of the people who moisten the ground with their tears and beat the earth with bended knee.[1]

Another poem of Aldhelm's of a sacred character is devoted to the eight chief vices. It is long and rhetorical, and contains nothing which need detain us. Mr. Wildman treats it as originally belonging to Aldhelm's tract in praise of virginity.

I will now quote a second letter from Cellan (who had meanwhile become Abbot of Péronne), in which he does not disguise his name. It is addressed to "My Lord Aldhelm, the Archimandrite (*i.e.* the abbot), enriched in the study of letters, adorned by honey-bearing work by night, who in a marvellous manner has acquired in the land of the Saxons that which some in foreign parts hardly obtain by dint of toilsome labour. Cellanus, born in the island of Hibernia, dwelling obscurely in an extreme corner of the land of the Franks, near those of a famous colony of Christ, greeting in the whole and sure Trinity." He then proceeds to pay him some compliments, and *inter alia* tells him that though they were not worthy to hear him at home, they read his finely com-

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 118–128; Browne, 250–251.

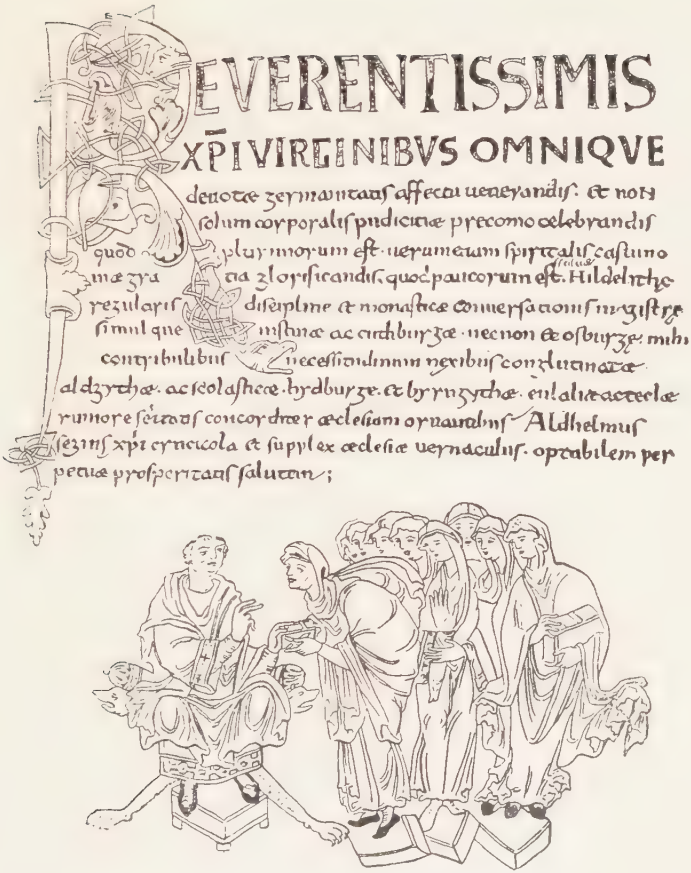
posed works painted with the attractions of various flowers. He reports how he had heard praises of his Latin, and goes on to say, "If you would refresh the sad heart of a pilgrim, send him some small discourses (*sermunculos*) from your sweet lips, the rills derived from which pure fountain may refresh the minds of many in the place where rest the holy remains of the Lord Fursey."[1]

William of Malmesbury, to whom we are indebted for the letter of Cellan, only gives us one clause from Aldhelm's reply, which is not illuminating. "I wonder," he says, "that from the renowned and flower-bearing fields of the Franks the activity of your fraternity addresses such a poor little creature (*tantillum homunculum*) as myself, sprung from the Saxon race and cradled in my tender years under a northern sky (*sub Arctos axe*)."[2]

I will next quote an interesting letter from Aldhelm addressed to his own Bishop Hædde, whom he styles most blessed, most reverend, and endowed with every virtue. In it he says he had hoped, if circumstances had permitted, that they might have spent Christmas gaily among the brethren, but Hædde having been prevented from going (as a messenger had reported to him), he now wrote to tell him how he himself was engrossed in exploring the marrow of Roman law and the secrets of the jurisconsults, and what he found more perplexing and difficult, in studying the hundred

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 331 ; Browne, 82.
[2] Giles, 331 ; Browne, 83 and 84.

rules of metrical composition and selecting suitable syllables for the rhythm of his verses. This he found the more trying, since "the doctors" were so few. He enumerates the difficulties he had to contend with in the medley of letters, syllables, "feet," poetic figures, verses, tones, and tunes, and in the sevenfold divisions of the poetic art, such as *acephali*, *lagari*, *protili*, etc., and how correctly to make the verses styled *monoschemi*, *pentoschemi*, and *decaschemi*, and those called *catalectici*, *brachy-catalectici*, and *hypercatalectici*. He was further much occupied in the mysteries of calculation and of numbers. This he had found more difficult than any previous occupation. In it he had relied largely on St. Jerome, whom he deemed the most learned. Further in regard to the Zodiac and the twelve signs which revolve around the pole of heaven, he thought it better to keep silent, lest he should find that he contemned an obscure and profound subject which needed a long explanation unless it was to be of little value and misleading. Especially had he been harassed by having no practical knowledge of the astrologer's art, and by the perplexing subject of drawing horoscopes, which needed so much expenditure of midnight oil and pains. "Hence," he says, "most dear father, I have touched on these matters only slightly, and not with verbose prolixity, merely to let you know why I cannot teach the reason of things which I am studying without great and continual application," and he ends with a touching phrase, which I will leave in



ALDHELM, HILDELITH, AND THE NUNS OF BARKING

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its graceful Latin form: *Salutate in Christo omnem sodalium meorum catervam a minimo usque ad maximum, quos obsecro et adjuro per clementiam Christi ut pro me peccatorum pondere et criminum sarcina oppresso preces Domino fundant.*[1]

We will now turn to another and more important composition of Aldhelm's. It in fact became his most popular work, namely, his essay on Virginity, which occurs both in prose and verse.

The prose version is addressed to the most reverend Virgins of Christ . . . not only to be venerated for their corporal purity, but also for the mental chastity which is the possession of few —that is to say, to Hildelitha, the controller of the regular discipline and the monastic life, as well as Justina and Cutburga, together with Osburga "bound to me" by family ties, with Aldgitha and Scolastica, Hidburga and Burngitha, Eulalia and Thecla, adorning the Church in common sanctity.[2]

Aldhelm goes on to say that he had received a letter from Hildelitha while setting out to attend a synod of bishops accompanied by a band of his

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 96 and 97.

[2] Giles, *op. cit.* i. Some of these are real names, others are names adopted in religion from saintly women of earlier times, all of them were doubtless women of good family. Hildelitha had succeeded Æthelburga, the sister of Bishop Earconberht, as abbess of Barking Abbey. As abbess, says Bede, she was a devout handmaid of God, and presided over the monastery in an exemplary way for many years (*op. cit.* iv. 10). She is mentioned by S. Boniface as a friend of his in a letter written in 709 to the abbess of S. Mildred's, Thanet (*Mon. Mog.*, pp. 53 ff.), showing she was then living. Cuthburga was sister to Ini, King of Wessex, and therefore perhaps a cousin more or less remote of Aldhelm's. Of the rest of the nuns we have no information.

colleagues, and he adds that he had been much pleased by the proofs of her diligent study of the scriptures, by her fertile flow of words and her virginal urbanity (*virginalem urbanitatem*), and he enlarges on the works and the deep curriculum of studies which were, as he did not doubt, pursued in the monastery, notably those on the Bible, in which the fourfold story of the gospels was illustrated by the commentaries of the fathers, the historiographers and chronographers, the grammarians and orthographers.[1] In one MS. of his "enigmas" there are some verses in which he tells us how this kind of nun's work was sometimes supplemented in another way when "the nuns' pallid hand and slender needle worked embroidery with golden threads just as he himself employed his pen." The lines are worth repeating :—

> "*Aurea dum exili Christo fila virgo acu dedicata*
> *Manu pallida torquet aereo tum ego calamo.*"[2]

To return to Aldhelm's tract, it was composed, as I have said, in two forms, one in prose and the other in verse, which, though largely the same in matter, differ in some particulars. The tract is mentioned by Bede, who says it was written in imitation of Sedulius and that it was composed in a double form, that is, in hexameter verse and in prose.[3]

Like other compositions of Aldhelm, this one is marked by a florid rhetoric and intricate syntax ; as Bishop Browne says, it is very hard reading and in it Aldhelm revels in difficult words.

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 5 ; Browne, *op. cit.* 321. [2] Giles, 273.
[3] *Op. cit.* v. 18.

It is clear, however, that it was meant to be read by the nuns. From his reference to their accomplishments they must have been competent to read it, and it gives us a very high opinion of women's culture in the seventh century.

Occasionally we meet among the turgid sentences with a melodious piece of Latin the only fault of which is its excessive embroidery. I will quote one. Aldhelm is counselling the nuns to imitate the example of the industrious bees—"*quae roscido facessente crepusculo, et exorto limpidissimi solis jubare, densos extemplo tripudiantium turmarum exercitus per patentes campos gregatim diffundunt. Modo melligeris caltarum frondibus seu purpureis malvarum floribus incubantes, mulsa nectaris stillicidia guttatim rostro decerpunt, et velut lento careni defruto quod regalibus ferculis conficitur, avida viscerum receptacula certatim implere contendunt; modo flavescentes saliculas et crocata genistarum cacumina circumvallantes, fertilem praedam numerosis cruribus et coxarum oneribus advehunt, quibus cerea castra conficiunt; modo teretes hoederarum corymbos, et levissimos florentis tiliae surculos constipantes, multiformem favorum machinam angulosis et opertis cellulis construunt.*"[1] The surprising thing is that so many English ladies, especially nuns, were capable of reading this, and of replying in corresponding Latin. For some who may not be able to do so now, I will give Mr. Wildman's graceful translation :—

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 3 and 4.

The bees, " . . . which when the dewy morn appears, and the beams of the most limpid sun arise, pour thick armies of their dancing crowds from the hive over the open fields; now lying in the honey-bearing leaves of the marigolds or on the purple flowers of the mallows, they suck the nectar, drop by drop; now flying round the yellowing willows and the golden tops of the broom, they carry their plunder on numerous flights and burthened legs, from which they fashion their waxen castles; now crowded about the rounded berries of the ivy and the light shoots of the flourishing linden tree, they construct the multiform machine of their honey-combs with angular and open cells." [1]

Turning from the style of the letter to what was intended to be taught in it, namely, the superlative worth of virginity in both sexes, I will borrow from Bishop Browne the translation of a not too easy

[1] Wildman, *S. Aldhelm*, 94 and 95. The level of learning decayed greatly in the next half-century. Dr. William Wright has remarked upon the great growth of vernacular literature in the ninth century (which in earlier times was chiefly stored in the memory), and then began largely to displace Latin. He calls that century "the age of glosses," and it is apparently at that time we find the greatest number of interlinear translations of the words of the Latin writers into Anglo-Saxon, a sure sign of the decay of Latin scholarship. He especially notes this in the later MSS. of the *de laudibus Virginitatis* of Aldhelm. The two oldest MSS. of the work in the King's Library, Br. Mu., dating from the eighth century, had no Anglo-Saxon glosses, though much glossed with Latin. Two of the middle of the ninth century, are glossed here and there with Anglo-Saxon. The fifth, of the middle of that century or beginning of the next, is very full of such glosses. As the book was meant to be read, and was doubtless largely read by women, we do not wonder that in later times, when Greek and Latin were not so well known, Greek words and idioms and also difficult Latin ones should be so glossed (Wright, *Biog. Britt. Lit.*, 51).

passage to show how far in instructing the nuns Aldhelm pushed his theories on the subject of a morbidly chaste life. He is contrasting virginity at the expense of the married life.

"While," he says, "giving to the glory of virginity praise without measure, we do not hold lawful wedlock to be contemned. That is far from the Catholic faith of the churches. Indeed, the glory of virginity has grown out of the law of wedlock, just as gold comes from the earth, the rose from the thorn, the pearl from the shell. Great indeed is the interval, and wide the difference between the richness of divine affection and the warmth of the lowest love. One is angelic love, and the other carnal. The wife craves to have her neck hung with crescents (*lunulis*), her arms adorned with bracelets, her fingers with gemmed rings: the virgin desires to shine with the fairest adornment of transparent chastity, to flash with golden necklaces of virtue, to be adorned with white pearls of merit. The wife busies herself in delicate arrangements, her hair twisted into curls with the irons, her cheeks and lips coloured with red antimony, as if she were a swine (*suatim*). The virgin with hair undecked and untrimmed bears on her head a virgin's crown of glory. The one blossoms out into the vulgar pomp of ornament like the seated woman in the Apocalypse, who offered out of her golden chalice the deadly draught of carnal pleasure, presenting a fair but pernicious spectacle; the other displays rather the signs of a chaste con-

versation and the example of the citizens of heaven."[1]

Such is the frank, and it must be confessed monstrous, contrast which this celibate, who loves to indulge in libidinous phrases and highly-scented adjectives, puts before young virgins as a true picture of the married state in contrast with their own. It would hardly be possible to distribute more dangerous poison.

It will not be amiss to give an example from another of his works, in which he professes to report the view of an angel whom he quotes on the same subject. "This angel," he says, "divided the conditions of life not into two, virginity and wedlock, but into three, virginity, chastity in marriage, and the married life. He compared them to gold, silver, and brass; to riches, moderate means, and poverty; to peace, ransom, and captivity; to the sun, moon, and darkness; to day, dawn, and night; to a queen, a lady, and a handmaid; to a living man, a man half-dead, and a corpse; to a purple robe, a re-dyed garment, and common homespun." To this supposed angelic depreciation of the marriage state Aldhelm himself added his reading of the parable of the sower, and classed the three conditions as represented in it by harvests of a hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold return.[2]

We cannot insist too much on the utterly false and mischievous tendency of such teaching which

[1] *Op. Aldhelm*, ed. Giles, p. 17; Browne, *Aldhelm*, 317 and 318.
[2] Browne, *op. cit.* 320 and 321.

the development of monkish ideals so largely developed in mediæval ethics.

Aldhelm ends his generally fine address to virgins with a few graceful phrases, whose flavour cannot be readily translated. He says: *Valete o flores Ecclesiae, sorores Monasticae, alumnae scholasticae, Christi margaritae, paradisi gemmae, et coelestis Patriae participes. Amen.* The poetical version of the address is entitled *De Laudibus Virginum.* It is addressed to "the greatest abbess" (*i.e.* Hildelitha) alone, and its exordium is in the form of a double acrostic consisting of the words *Metrica Tirones nunc promant carmina castos.* The letters in these words form the beginning and end of the lines, in one case written downwards and in the other reversely. The concluding line is formed by reversing the phrase above named, and reading it backwards thus—

Sotsac animract Namorp Cnunsenorita cirte.[1]

In his picture of what nuns should be, Aldhelm's pencil, we need not doubt, was very largely sketching the ideal nuns of his imagination; others existed, however, of whom numerous samples were no doubt to be found. He describes how one of them wore an undervest (*subucula*) of fine linen of a violet colour; over this she had a scarlet tunic (*tunica coccinea*) with wide sleeves and a hood of striped silk (*manicae et caputium sericis claratae*); her shoes were of red leather; the locks on her forehead and temples were curled with irons; a veil (*maputium*) was tied on her head with ribands, crossed on her breast, and allowed to fall at

[1] Giles, 135 and 136.

the back till it touched the ground ; and her nails were pared to a point like the talons of a falcon. This passage is interesting for another reason, since it doubtless gives a good notion of the elaborate costumes worn by the grand ladies of the time in England.

In addition to the letter addressed to a group of nuns, we also have one written by Aldhelm to a nun called Osgitha, whom he styles his dearest sister (*amantissima soror*). Whether she was his actual relation or only a spiritual sister we cannot say, but its phrases rather point to the former. It is thus expressed :—

"To my dearest and best beloved sister, sincerely and affectionately revered by me, Aldhelm, a suppliant (*supplex*), bearing the humble name of abbot, greeting in the Lord. Thy bountifulness knows of the nun for whose baptism the Bishop (*pontifex*) gave the necessary licence only that it was to be done privately and secretly. I salute thee assiduously, Osgitha, from the intimate bed (*ex cubiculo*) of my heart, beseeching thee with sustained prayers not to desist from the assiduous study of the Scriptures, following the precept of the Psalmist : 'On his law shalt thou meditate day and night,' ; and again, 'How meet are thy words.' Let the sisters remember that I always pray for them, and that the Apostle says the prayer of a righteous man availeth much. Farewell dearest one, ten times, nay a hundred times, nay a thousand times. May God give thee health."[1]

[1] Giles, *op. cit.* 90 ; Browne, 325.

In Dr. Giles' collection of letters is one attributed by some to Aldhelm, which is, however, anonymous and written to an anonymous nun, and it is now generally agreed that he was not the author, but that it was written by some one who knew his style and who was a protégé of Bishop Boniface, to whom he thus refers: *Praesulis venerandi Bonifacii sub magisterio didiceram.* Attached to it are some specimens of alliteration, thus: *Rex Romanorum Ruit-Pater Patriae Profectus est. Ferro Frigore Fame. Monitum Monumentum Mortuus est. Victor Vitalis Venit. Aurum a notis Aupert.* There is also an alphabet which is interesting, as showing how the letters were then pronounced. It runs thus: *asc. berc. can. dour. ehu. feli. gip. ha. gal. is. ker. lagu. man. not. os. pert. quirun. rat. suigil. tac. ur. ilc. ian. zar.*[1]

Lastly, we have by Aldhelm an elaborate memoir, entitled "A Work on the figure seven, on metres, enigmas, or riddles, and the rules of metrical quantity" (*pedum regulis*). This he dedicated to Acirceus, whom he apostrophises grandiloquently as "holding the sceptre of Northern dominion," and by whom Bishop Stubbs and others agree, Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, is meant. He reminds him that they had contracted in their youth ties of the closest friendship (*inextricabile conglutinati foederis pignus pepigisse*), and whom he calls his very reverend son. He insists that the Northern prince should consider it a duty to read the wearisome volume from beginning to end, and expatiates at length upon

[1] See Giles, *op. cit.* 105.

the trouble which his production had cost him in the midst of his pastoral cares and the convulsions of the age. "It would be absurd," he says, "if you did not take the trouble to eat what I have taken so much pains to grind and make into bread." He then invokes the example of the great Emperor Theodosius, who while ruling the world found time to copy out eighteen books of the grammarian Priscian. But he adds, "let not the sound of the trumpet of the last judgment depart from your ears, let it recall to you day and night the book of the law, which ought to be meditated day and night. You will never sin if you think always of your last end. What is our prosperity here below, a dream, a vapour, the foam of the sea. God grant that the possession of present good may not displace for us the place of future recompense, and that the abundance of that which perishes may not be followed by the dearth of that which endures. I ask this for you and for myself from Him who for us has been upon the cross."[1]

I shall have more to say about this work in another volume.

In the year 705 (Faricius says 706 by mistake) a great National Council was convoked to consider the relations of the young Church of the Anglo-Saxons to the old Church of the Britons, which, Aldhelm tells us, was attended by an innumerable crowd of priests from nearly every part of Britain.[2]

[1] Giles, 216, etc. ; Montalembert, v. 35–6.
[2] Giles, p. 83.

This is an exaggeration, for Bede, who mentions it, distinctly, calls it a synod of Aldhelm's own nation, *i.e.* of Wessex. This Council apparently met within the borders of Wessex, and Aldhelm, the most learned man in England, was ordered by it to express its views in writing. Bede speaks of his having done so in a beautiful book (*librum egregium*), but all that has survived to our day is a letter. This letter was addressed to "the Most Glorious Lord swaying the sceptre of the Western realm," whom the writer embraces with brotherly charity; King Geruntius; and, at the same time to "all God's Priests dwelling in Domnonia." That is to say, it was addressed to Geraint, King of Dyfnaint, which comprised all those parts of Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset which had not been conquered by and incorporated in the kingdom of Wessex.

The letter goes on to say that Aldhelm was commissioned by a large council of Bishops to call his attention to four points which were faulty in the conduct of the clergy of his nation. First, they were said to be contentious, and not to live in harmony with one another, forgetting the counsels of the Scriptures in praise of concord. Secondly, certain priests and clerics in his kingdom continued obstinately to refuse the tonsure of St. Peter, on the ground that they were adhering to the tradition of their ancestors, while the tonsure which they actually used was in the opinion of most persons traceable to Simon, the inventor of the art of magic.

Aldhelm claimed for the tradition that he and his people followed that it was appointed by St. Peter, and argued in favour of it; i. that it represented the crown of thorns; ii. it distinguished the old from the new priesthood; iii. he urged that there was an indication of it among the ancient Nazarites, and that the heads of clerics should have the crown illustrated in St. Peter's saying, "a royal priesthood."

Thirdly, he complained that the British priests did not follow the rule of the Nicene Council in regard to Easter, but followed the canon of Anatolius, or rather that of Sulpicius Severus, and kept Easter with the Jews, and that the Roman pontiffs had not given their sanction to either canon, nor to that of Victorius.

Fourthly, he said the priests of the Demetians[1] who dwell beyond the Severn would not pray with a Saxon in church nor eat with him at table; on the contrary, they threw to the dogs and swine the remains of any meal he may have eaten, and insisted on scouring with sand and ashes the dishes or bowls from which he may have drunk. They refused the kiss of peace, or even an ordinary greeting, contrary to the apostle's command to salute each other with a holy kiss. They would not afford water or a towel for Saxon hands, nor a vessel to wash Saxon feet in; whereas our Saviour girt Himself with a towel

[1] This term, Bright argues, is not used in the limited sense of Dyfed, *i.e.* S.W. Pembrokeshire and the adjacent parts, but for all Deheubarth or South Wales.

and washed His disciples' feet, thus leaving them an example.[1]

If any Catholic went among them, he must do a penance of forty days before they would admit him to fellowship. This, Aldhelm compared to the acts of the heretics, who called themselves pure (*i.e.* the Novatians or Cattari), and to the Pharisees.

Aldhelm went on to entreat the King, not to superciliously and doggedly refuse to obey the decrees of St. Peter, nor to spurn the tradition of the Roman Church for the sake of the statutes of his own forefathers, for it was to Peter the keys were given; . . . that good wishes were profitless outside the Catholic Church, even if they included strict observance of cœnobitic discipline, or even the severest asceticism of the anchorite; and it was idle to boast of true belief unless one followed the rule of St. Peter.

Bede tells us how by this pronouncement Aldhelm persuaded many Britons who were subject to the West Saxons to accept the catholic observance of our Lord's Passover.[2]

Dr. Bright, with his eye to the controversies of the sixteenth century, rather than to the patent needs of the seventh, is very querulous about this epistle. What could one expect from a devoted Catholic of this period but sentiments like those

[1] Mr. Plummer points out that there was not much sweetness and light on either side in this long controversy, for Theodore in his *Penitential* treats all British and Irish bishops as excommunicate, and their acts as invalid (ii.–lx.; Haddan and Stubbs, 254).

[2] *Op. cit.* v. 18.

which are expressed in not unfair or immoderate language? Who can doubt on which side of the controversy the best men of the time were ranged? Who can doubt that in those rough times what was most needed was union and discipline? The merits of a particular tonsure or a particular time for holding Easter were trivial compared to the great advantages of obeying some common authority, which in such matters could have had no motive to decide in a particular way except that of general convenience and orderly conduct. The keeping up of special peculiarities like these could only focus before the philistine and the heathen the differences that divided Christians, and behind these differences were the irritating seclusiveness and the kind of Brahminical assumption of superior sanctity and morals enforced by special rules regulating intercourse. It seems to me, as plain as can be, that whatever necessity there was for a breach with Rome in the sixteenth, there was every possible reason for maintaining in the seventh century the unity under its shield which was consecrated by prestige and many traditions; and this view was supported by the best men not only among the Saxons but among the Celtic clergy, as much by Adamnan and Chad as by Wilfred and Aldhelm.

The letter of Aldhelm here discussed was almost his last act as abbot and before he became bishop. William of Malmesbury tells us that he could not obtain a copy of it, and charged the Britons with

having destroyed it.[1] It has been found in later years among the letters attributed to St. Boniface.

We have now reached the year 703, when Bishop Haeddi died. He had governed the Church in the whole kingdom of the West Saxons, which formed an enormous and unworkable diocese. As we have seen, several efforts had been made to divide it, but these had been thwarted. Now that the aged Bishop was gone it was carried out. The eastern portion of the kingdom was assigned to Aldhelm, with its Bishop's stool at Sherborne, a mere village (*viculus*), says Malmesbury, neither populous nor in a pleasant situation, in which nevertheless the Bishop's see lasted for several centuries.[2] Freeman shows that Malmesbury was wrong in the boundaries he gave the new diocese. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*[3] distinctly says Aldhelm was Bishop west of Selwood, and his see neither included Berkshire nor Wiltshire (except only "the land of Malmesbury"), and extended west to Exmouth and Exmoor, beyond which were the West Welsh. Malmesbury's division was in accordance with the changes that took place in 1058.

Aldhelm was one of the greatest scholars of his age, but he was a true monk, and his heart was in his monastery and far away from the world. The contemplative life was what he cherished, putting it far above the practical, and, be it said, it is not easy for us to judge of the necessities of men in

[1] See *G.P.*, 341 and 361; Plummer, ii. 312.
[2] *G.P.*, 175.
[3] *A.G. and C.*, *sub. an.* 709.

those rough times. Mr. Plummer contrasts his ideals with those of Kingsley's hunting bishop, but the two are not comparable. The world had need of rest, of leisure, of study, of patient continuous work, and it was in the monasteries that it found what it needed most. They were the only schools, for the towns were too small and insignificant, and the country population too thin and scattered. They were the only safe harbours for broken-down men, and the only seats and centres of culture, and no wonder that Aldhelm shrank, as we are told he shrank, from the worry and harass of an episcopal life, and protested that he was weary and old and wanted rest. The synod at which he was elected would not be said nay, and insisted that the older he was the wiser and fitter also; but he was probably right. Great schoolmasters and great saints and scholars have not made model bishops, and Faricius, in fact, informs us that his dislike of secular matters did not make his episcopate as great a success as his previous life had been.

He consented, however, and went to Canterbury for his consecration, and stayed on for a while with the Archbishop, who wished for the benefit of his counsel. He also no doubt communed much with his old master, Hadrian, who was still living and officiating as abbot in St. Peter's. Malmesbury tells a story of his having visited Dover at this time, and finding some sailors there unloading a number of books. Among them was a Bible, in-

cluding both testaments, for which he bid, and tried to beat down the men's price, but they, seeing him poorly clad, laughed at him and drove him away. They sailed away and were soon overtaken by a storm, whereupon they cried out to him for pardon. He signed the cross and went to them in another boat, and when they reached the shore they offered him the book for nothing, but he insisted on paying for it. William of Malmesbury tells us it was afterwards preserved at Malmesbury as a specimen of antiquity.[1]

On his appointment as bishop, Aldhelm built a church at Sherborne, which Malmesbury had seen, and which he describes as very fine (*mirifice construxit*). Mr. Wildman says that nothing remains of it but a blocked door at the west end of the north aisle of the nave, with part of the adjoining wall.

When he undertook his bishopric, Aldhelm, we are told, wished to resign the headship of his several monasteries, but the monks would not hear of it. "As long as you live," they said, "we will live with you and under you. But one thing we ask of you unanimously, it is to guarantee to us by the Holy Scriptures and the consent of the Powerful, that after your death neither king, nor bishop, nor any man whatsoever, ecclesiastic or layman, may exercise over us an authority which we are not willing to accept" (*sine nostro voluntatis arbitrio in nobis sibi vindicet principatum*).[2]

[1] *G.P.*, v. 224; Bright, 472.

[2] Birch, 114; Montalembert, v. 43; Kemble, liv., who marks the document as doubtful.

In an extant charter Aldhelm professes formally to give his consent to this arrangement. The document appears to have been signed in a monastery at Wimborne, presided over by Cuthburga, the sister of King Ini, whom the latter calls *regis germana*, and was afterwards confirmed by a council held on the River Noodr (*i.e.* the Nodder). To this original arrangement Ini had been privy, as was Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, while the confirming synod was attended by all the "archimandrites" (*i.e.* abbots) of the Saxon race. The monasteries in question are specified as those at Maldubesburg, Froom, and Bradanford (*i.e.* Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford). This dubious document is dated in 705.

In the same year we have a letter from Waldere, or Waldhere, Bishop of London, written to Archbishop Beorhtwald, appointing a meeting-place at Brentford (Breguntford) between the kings and the bishops of Wessex and Mercia, under the presidence of King Coenred, to settle some dispute about Aelfdrytha (*de conciliatione Aelfdrythae*) of which we otherwise know nothing.[1]

Aldhelm, we are told, was indefatigable in preaching and visiting his diocese, but, as Dr. Bright says, he was probably prematurely old, and at length, in the spring of 709, when he was living at Doulting, in Somerset, he summoned a number of his clergy, monks, lay friends, and disciples around him, and having given them a last homily on charity, and commended them to God's

[1] Birch, No. 115. The original charter is in the British Museum.

care, he had himself removed into the little wooden church in the village, where he was no doubt wont to preach, and which was afterwards rebuilt in stone by a monk of Glastonbury. The stone on which the Saint lay, when dying, was preserved there,[1] and was reported to possess healing powers.

Malmesbury reports a story that when Aldhelm was one day preaching he thrust his ashen staff into the ground, whereupon it began to throw out leaves, and became a tree, which was much regarded by the people. From it others sprang, says Malmesbury playfully (*ex primae arboris pulla multas pullulasse fraxinus*), and the town was afterwards known as Bishop's Trees, now Stoke Orchard, in Gloucestershire. "I do not quote this as the truth" (*pro solido*), says his biographer, "but lest some one should complain of its omission."[2]

The bishop died on the 25th of May 709, "a sad year for England," says Malmesbury, "since so many lights were then extinguished." He specially names St. Wilfrid, and "Kenred," King of Mercia.[3] He further tells us that when Bishop Ecgwin of Worcester heard of Aldhelm's death he hastened to the spot where his body lay (*i.e.* at Doulting), to conduct it thence to the place selected for his burial, namely, St. Michael's, Malmesbury.

Bishop Browne remarks on the fact that a bishop from another kingdom, namely Mercia, rather than Bishop Daniel of Winchester, performed this duty, and quotes it as a striking proof

[1] See *G.P.*, Rolls ed., p. 383, note 4. [2] *Ib.* 384–5. [3] *Ib.* 386.

of the effect which the Christianising of the kingdom had had in breaking down the barriers then dividing its several parts. The funeral cortége was very large, each one wishing to be near the bier, so as at least to see the body if he could not touch it.

William of Malmesbury tells us that stone crosses were planted along the route at intervals of seven miles. They still remained in his day, and were called "Biscopstane," *i.e.* Bishop's Stones; one was in the monks' cloister at Malmesbury.

Bishop Browne has made an ingenious attempt to fix the sites of these crosses (some of which are now standing), namely, at Frome, Westbury, Bradford, Bath, Colerne, Littleton, and Malmesbury, at several of which places there are Saxon carvings.[1] The remains were deposited in St. Michael's Church at Malmesbury, where they remained two hundred and forty years.[2] Not a fragment of this church remains, and no one knows in what spot Aldhelm's body really was laid.

In the time of Æthelwulf, father of Alfred, the monks of Malmesbury took St. Aldhelm's remains out of the stone coffin in which they had been placed, and put them into a shrine adorned with plates of silver gilt, on which were represented some of the miracles associated with the Saint, and already described, namely, those of the lost book at Dover, the child who spoke at Rome, the miracle known as that of "the beams" and that of the

[1] Browne, *St. Aldhelm*, 150, etc. [2] *G.P.*, 386.

chasuble, which was hung on a sunbeam at Rome. William of Malmesbury says these scenes were displayed in raised metal on the back of the shrine, the front being occupied by human figures in solid silver. The subjects shown on the four panels were described in an inscription, taken, it was supposed, from a book of benefactions (*liber vitae*) which was lost in the time of the Danes. Æthelwulf placed a pediment of crystal on the shrine, on which the Saint's name could be read in letters of gold.[1]

Athelstane claimed to be (as indeed he was, says Malmesbury) a relation as he also was a great devotee of the Saint. At the battle of Brunanburgh he had made a great appeal to him, and having won the fight he liberally endowed the town and church of Malmesbury with lands, as well as with many hangings, a cross of gold, a "*filacteria*" of the same metal, and the piece of the true cross which the Frankish King Hugh had sent him. When he died, his own body was buried at Malmesbury.[2]

Aldhelm's fame lasted a long time there. Thus St. Dunstan, according to Faricius, presented a pair of organs to the monastery in his honour, a fact which was thus recorded on a bronze inscription—

> "*Organa de Sancto Praesul Dunstanus Adelmo.*
> *Perdat hic aeternum qui vult hinc tollere regnum.*"

He similarly presented a set of bells, remarkable for their sound and tone, to the church there, which the same writer says cost £400. He further

[1] *G.P.*, 389 and 390. [2] *Ib.* 396–7.

gave a water-pot for the service of the church, inscribed—

> "*Hydriolam hanc fundi Dunstan mandaverat Archi-Praesul ut in templo sancto servaret Adelmo.*"[1]

In order that they might be more safe from turbulent people whose advent he predicted, Dunstan removed the relics of the Saint, but not the shrine, to a stone tomb set up on the right of the altar, first wrapping them in a glistening and delicate white napkin, and then in a precious scarlet covering, with some of the dust taken from the ancient sarcophagus. With these relics he put a phial full of the purest balsam.

When the Danes presently came, they ignored the sepulchre and made straight for the shrine, and one of them tried to remove the precious stones from it with a knife. "He was struck blind," says Faricius, "the rest of the pillagers fled, and Malmesbury alone among the abbeys of the neighbourhood escaped destruction."

In 1078 the remains of Aldhelm, which had been hidden for fear of the Danes, were re-translated to a new shrine by St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury.[2]

In William the Conqueror's time, Archbishop Lanfranc, having heard of Aldhelm's manifold miracles, had him officially proclaimed as a saint.

[1] William of Malmesbury, in his *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, naïvely tells us that the first *l* in Aldhelm as here written is omitted by poetic licence, so as to make the line scan (see Browne, *St. Aldhelm*, 203 and 204).

[2] William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 428.

An annual fair was also instituted at the time of the festival, for the naïve and quaint reason that the desire to make money might attract some to godliness whom the holiness of the Saint had not moved.[1] Malmesbury says the festival was always attended by a low rabble who obtained money out of the worshippers by their trickery and wit.[2]

St. Aldhelm was the patron of more than one holy well; there was one, as we have seen, at Malmesbury. At Abson, near the fine church (*pulchra ecclesia*) of Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire (where there was also a St. Aldhelm's oak and a royal palace, in the great hall of which King Eadmund was murdered in 946), there is still a Saxon stone with a dragon on it like those at Colerne and Bradford.[3] Churches were dedicated to him at Bishopstowe, Broadway, Doulting, and Malmesbury.

Malmesbury tells us that Abbot Warin gave Bishop Osmund a bone of St. Aldhelm's left arm, which he kept in a richly-decorated silver reliquary; this became very efficacious in curing serious complaints. He also gives special praise to the Saint, because he did not disdain to cure small diseases as well as big ones.[4] He, however, cites a case to show that he was not always willing to assist even a deserving supplicant,[5] and another proves that he was sometimes not quite judicial in his measure of punishment.

[1] William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 428. [2] *Op. cit.* 438.
[3] Browne, *op. cit.* 172. [4] *G.P.*, 431. [5] *Ib.* 436.

Malmesbury tells us that Abbot Godefroy's abbacy was disgraced by a great crime. He allowed the church at Malmesbury to be despoiled in order to pay tribute to William Rufus. The Saint visited him in a vision and inflicted on him the worst form of king's evil. Among the objects taken were, we are told, twelve copies of the Gospels, eight crosses, and eight silver-gilt shrines encrusted with stones. Our chronicler consoles himself by the fact that a very small price was obtained for the pillage, namely, seventy-two marcs.[1] Among his many miracles of healing one transcends general experience, for he is said to have cured a monk of an internal disease who had merely smelt his bones.[2] Malmesbury ends his long life of the Saint by quoting several miracles, some of which he claims to have himself seen.[3]

On the death of Aldhelm, in 709 A.D., he was succeeded as Bishop of Sherborne by Fortheri, "a very learned man in Holy Scripture."[4] He was possibly a Northumbrian, for it was a person of his name who, in the time of King Edwin, was one of the King's bodyguard, and who was killed by the would-be assassin Eomer, who had come from Wessex to kill him.[5] In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Fortheri is said to have accompanied

[1] William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, 432.

[2] *Ib.* 424.

[3] On which Malmesbury remarks: "*Nec vero ut puto, quisquam dicet me vel oculis meis non debuisse credere, vel risa pro Dei laude non debuisse scribere. Illud enim fatui et incredduli, istud superbi et ingrati esset*" (*ib.* 436–7).

[4] Bede, *H.E.*, v. 18.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 9.

Frithogith, the wife of King Æthelheard, to Rome in the year 737.[1] A charter professing to convey lands from King Æthelheard to Forðeri for the foundation of Crediton Monastery is dated in 739, and, if genuine, shows that both he and the Queen, who signs as a witness, returned from Rome.[2] Leland puts this journey in 759, doubtless a mistake for 739.[3]

Kemble prints a charter, which is dated in the first indiction of 712, in which, under the name Forter, he conveys some land to Aldberht (Abbot of Glastonbury). It was situated near the river Æsc, at the port (*ad portum*) which was called Bledenhithe. In this deed, which is accepted by Kemble, Fortheri called himself *famulus famulorum Dei*.[4] Haddan and Stubbs remind us that no such name as Aldberht occurs in the list of abbots of Glastonbury given in MS. Tib. B.V., which is a suspicious circumstance. He is made the ninth abbot by William of Malmesbury.

Fortheri's name occurs as a witness to several charters granted by Ini and other Kings of Wessex to the abbeys of Glastonbury and Abingdon, all of which, as I have tried to show, are spurious.

In the great collection of the letters of Boniface are some which refer to English affairs, but which do not relate directly to himself. Among these is one addressed by Archbishop Beroald, *i.e.* Berhtuald,

[1] *Op. cit., sub an.* Compare Florence of Worcester.
[2] See Crawford, *Charters*, pp. 1–3, and notes.
[3] *Coll.*, ii. 278.
[4] Kemble, *op. cit.* vol. i. no. 73. Birch, i. no. 128.

to Fortheri about the payment of a sum of money as the redemption of the sister of a certain Eppa, who had been kept in bondage by Beornvald, Abbot of Glastonbury. This letter I have already abstracted.[1]

In the same collection is also a letter written by Bishop Daniel of Winchester to Fortheri, commending to him a newly ordained deacon named Merwalh.[2]

Fortheri, as Bede tells us, was still Bishop of Sherborne in 731, when he completed his great work.

Let us now turn once more to Northumbria. As we have seen, the fortunes of that kingdom had greatly suffered. Ecgfrid was the last Northumbrian king of the heroic type, and it was to his reckless ventures that the decadence of his kingdom may be traced. His defeat by Æthelred of Mercia in 679 on the Trent led to the final loss of Lincolnshire by Northumbria and to its appropriation by Mercia,[3] and the disaster was completed by his defeat and death at the hands of the Picts in the great battle of Nectan's ford in 693, when a large part of the Northumbrian nobles probably perished.[4] He was buried at Iona, and was succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrid, who was a pious scholar rather than a king.[5] Aldfrid died in 705,[6] and was, as Æddi tells us, succeeded by a usurper, called Eadwulf, for only two months.

[1] *Ante*, ii. 372; *Mon. Hist. Germ. Epist.*, vol. iii. 248.
[2] *Mon. Hist. Germ. Epist.*, iii. 288.
[3] *Vide ante*, ii. 49, etc.
[4] *Ib.* ii. 106.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 149, etc.
[6] *Bede*, v. 18.

I described his short reign and how it came to an end in an earlier page,[1] where I also referred to his monument, which was found among the ruins of St. Woden's Church at Alnmouth. He left at least two sons, who are named by the continuator of Bede. He tells us they were killed in 740, under which year he writes: "*Arnuuine et Eadberchtus interempti.*" According to Mr. Plummer, the former name also reads *Arnuwini*. Under the same year Symeon of Durham says: "*Arwini filius Eadulfi occisus est.*" Thorpe urged that the mention of Eadbercht as having been then killed was a mistake. He identified him with Eadberht who, as it is known, was king till 758.

Bishop Browne remarks, on the other hand, as a very curious comment on these two points that there is at Wensley a portion of a sepulchral slab bearing a cross of a very early form, and having an inscription in its angles and below the head, in three lines, in letters unquestionably of that early date—

"EAT BER
EHT ET
AR UINI"

That is, Eatberht and Aruini. He urges that the continuator of Bede was right, and that some copier of MSS. has at an early period misread a *u* as an *n* in the Bede MS., and that the Wensley stone records the slaughter of two sons of the intruding Eadwulf.[2]

[1] *Ante*, ii. 221. [2] Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 289 and 290.

After two months Eadwulf was succeeded by the boy-son of King Aldfrid named Osred, who obtained the throne by the devotion and skill of Beorhtfrith the Ealdorman, called Berhtfrid by Florence of Worcester. He was the principal noble of Northumbria, and became his præfect.[1] The boy was under the tutelage of his mother Cuthburga, —who was a Wessex princess, and apparently not a very good one, and not well suited to the task of bringing up a king,—and of Bishop Wilfrid. He grew up a very vicious person.[2] Is it possible that that dominating person, who had suffered so much at the hands of the Northumbrians for many years, should also have revenged himself upon them by allowing the boy who was his protégé to become a reprobate? We have seen how the young king was coupled with Ceolred, King of Mercia, by St. Boniface, who, speaking of them both in a letter to King Æthelbald, says: "The privileges of the Church remained inviolate until the days of Ceolred, King of Mercia, and Osred, King of Deira and Bernicia. These two kings," he says, "pursued by a diabolical instinct, publicly committed the greatest sins in the Anglian province against the evangelical and apostolical precepts of our Saviour. They spent their days in ravishing nuns, in committing adultery, and robbing monasteries, and at last, condemned by the just judgment of God, they were hurled down from their royal pinnacles and died an immature

[1] *Ante*, ii. 221–222.

[2] *Vide ante*, ii. 222.

and terrible death, excluded from eternal light, and submerged in the depths of Tartarus."[1]

There exists a curious poem written on the abbots of his own monastery by Æthelwulf, a monk belonging to a cell attached to Lindisfarne, identified with some probability by Mr. T. Arnold with Craik or Crayke; which poem is dedicated to Ecgberht, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 802–820. In this poem we have an interesting reference to Osred, in which, describing his vicious life, he states that he killed some of the nobles and drove others into monasteries. Among the latter was one called Eanmund, of whom I shall have more to say presently.

The lines in which he deals with Osred are worth repeating, and are very little known. They are :—

"*Exstetit a primis sed non moderatus annis,*
Indocilis juvenis, nescit sensusque petulcos
Subcurvare animo, contemnens jura Tonantis,
Armipotens nimium, propriis in viribus audax.
Non proceres veneratus erat; non denique Christum,
Ut decuit, coluit; vacuis sed subdidit omnem
Actibus, heu! vitam, mansit cum corpore vita.
Inde fuit, praesens parvo quod tempore saeclum
Manserat, atque diu potuit non ducere vitam.
Hic igitur multos miseranda morte peremit,
Ast alios cogit summo servire Parenti,
Inque monasterii attonsos consistere saeptis."[2]

It is curious that Folcard in his life of Bishop John of Beverley should speak of such a prince as "*vir religionis et fidei.*" The Bishop also seems to

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 355 ; *ante*, ii. 332 and 333.
[2] *Symeon of Durham*, ed. Arnold, i. 268.

have viewed the young King's vices very complacently, and reports a miracle he himself performed at his palace.

Folcard says John had been invited with his attendants to sit at the royal table. On this occasion he bade the royal butlers fill their jars (*hydriae*), one with wine, another with milk, and the third with beer. He then blessed them, whereupon, like the similar jars at Cana, they proved to be inexhaustible, and filled up to the brim as fast as they were emptied. His host was greatly surprised with the power of the Saint, and congratulated the head butler Brithred on the quality of the liquor.[1]

The most notable events of Osred's reign were, first, a battle against the Picts, referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 710, and which it reports to have been fought in Scotland, between the Haefe (*i.e.* the Avon, near Linlithgow), and the Care (*i.e.* the Carron, in Stirlingshire). Secondly, the meeting of the famous Council on the river Nidd, which was got together by Beorhtferth at the instance of Archbishop Theodore.[2] It was summoned to deal with the affairs of St. Wilfrid, and was attended (*inter alios*) by Osred and his ealdormen, by the Northumbrian bishops Bosa, John, and Eadfrid, certain abbots, and the royal abbess Ælfleda. I have described its doings on an earlier page.[3]

[1] *Historians of the Church of York*, i. 254–5.

[2] See Bede, *H.E.*, v. 19, and William of Malmesbury, *G.P.*, lib. iii. chap. 109.

[3] *Ante*, ii. 223.

In Bede's *History of the Abbots* he mentions an exchange of lands between Osred and Abbot Ceolfrid. Benedict Biscop, as we saw, had received a property on the river Fresca (?) from King Aldfrid in exchange for a codex of the "Cosmographers." As this property was inconveniently situated for the abbey, Ceolfrid exchanged it, together with an estate which would support 20 families (*i.e.* 20 hides), for another at Sambuce (*ad villam Sambuce vocatur*).[1]

All the authorities report that Osred came to a violent end. Bede says he was killed in the year 716,[2] that is, when he was nineteen years old; his death is mentioned in Tighernach's *Annals* under the same year, in the words "*Guin rig Saxan i Osrith mic Aldfrith nepotis Osu*" (the slaying of the king of the Saxons, Osrith, son of Aldfrith, grandson of Osu).[3] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* puts it in the same year, while the *Ulster Annals* date it in 715.

In two MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* there is an interpolation in reporting his death, in which it is said that he was slain in the south.[4] The Anglo-Saxon words are "*be suðan gemacre*" (to the south of the border), which has been misread "*juxta Mere*" by Henry of Huntingdon. This some modern writers, such as Lingard, Bright, and Lappenberg, have again converted into Winder-

[1] Plummer's *Bede*, i. 380.
[2] *H.E.*, v. 22.
[3] Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 336.
[4] MSS. D and E.

mere.[1] The phrase seems to point to his having been slain in Mercia.

William of Malmesbury, who was a critical historian and depended on good authorities, says he was killed by his relatives Coenred and Osric, and describes the untimely death of both of them as an expiation for the blood of their master.[2]

Osred's name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham among the friends of the great northern Church. He was succeeded by Coenred.[3] Neither Bede nor the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tell us directly who he was. Florence of Worcester calls him the son of the "magnificent man Cuthwine."[4] In the appendix to Florence this is amplified thus: "*Kenredus, filius Cuthwini abnepotis regis Idae successit*"[5]—that is to say, he makes him a Northumbrian prince by descent. That his father's name was Cuthwine seems certain from the forms it takes in the Irish chronicles. Thus Tighernach calls him *MacCuitin*, whilst the *Ulster Annals* style him *filius Cuidine*.[6] Cuthwine's name does not occur in the *Liber Vitae*. Is it possible that he was the same Cuthwine who is mentioned in the younger Cuthberht's letter describing the death of his master Bede, who is called by him "*condiscipulus in Deo*," and whom he also styles "Collector."[7] We know nothing more of Coenred

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 336.
[2] *Op. cit.*, *Gest. Reg.*, i. chap. 3.
[3] *Bede*, v. 22.
[4] *Op. cit.*, *M.H.B.*, 540, *sub an.* 716.
[5] *Ib.* 639.
[6] See Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 336.
[7] Sym. Dun., *H.D.E.*, i. chap. 15.

save that he died in 618, as Bede and the other early writers say. He thus reigned eleven years; he is named in the *Liber Vitae*.

He was succeeded by Osric, about whom I have had a good deal to say in an earlier page. Like Dr. Stubbs, I think the evidence is almost conclusive that he was not only the same person as the son of King Alchfrid of Northumbria, but was also the nephew of Æthelred of Mercia, who was appointed head of the Hwiccas by the latter. Mr. Plummer, who will not have it so, seems to me to hardly realise the strength of the reason for this view. That Osric, chief of the Hwiccas, was a Northumbrian follows from his name, which was Northumbrian, and a former king of Northumbria, as we have seen,[1] bore it. That Æthelred, King of Mercia, should have made him chief of the Mercians is at once explained if he was the son of Alchfrid, son of Oswy, since that chief had married Æthelfrid's sister, and was therefore his nephew. If he had been the son not of Alchfrid but of Aldfrid (Symeon of Durham, as I think, by mistake styles him *filius regis Alfridi*[2]),—a view approved by Mr. Plummer,—he would not have been a relation of the Mercian ruler, and he would not have been set over a Mercian province.

Osric, ruler of the Hwiccas, is distinctly identified with the Osric, King of Northumbria, who is now occupying us, by the historians of the Worcestershire and Gloucestershire abbeys, in

[1] *Ante*, i. 5.

[2] *Op. cit.* i. chap. 13.

one of which he was subsequently buried, and his succession to the throne of Northumbria, on the death of Coenred, seems to be a most natural thing. It would seem that the vicious boy-king, Osred, was the last of his line who remained in Northumbria, and the grandees of that kingdom, if they wanted a king of royal blood, must have sought him outside that state. It is not unnatural that they should have elected a prince of their old royal stock who still remained, and who had ruled over the small community of the Hwiccas, and they would probably have small difficulty in inducing him to accept the more important rôle of King of Northumbria.

Nothing is recorded of Osric's reign after he mounted the northern throne save his nomination of his successor. He died in 729,[1] and was then probably a very old man. According to the *Gloucester Chronicle* he was buried in the church of that monastery in front of the altar of St. Petronilla. Bede[2] tells us his death-day was the 7th of the Ides of March, *i.e.* the 9th May. His name occurs in the *Liber Vitae*. Bede also tells us that Osric nominated Ceolwulf, brother of his predecessor Coenred, to succeed him.[3] This means that he was the son of Cuthwine, and not his grandson, as he is made out to be in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and in the text of Florence of Worcester, both of which make him the son of Cutha. In the pedigree attached to the latter

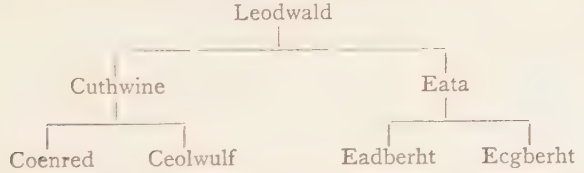
[1] *Bede*, v. 24. [2] *Ib.* v. 22. [3] *Ib.*

work, however, the name of Cutha has been omitted.[1]

We know little of Ceolwulf's reign, and we long to know more, for Bede's words about it are very cryptic and rather tragical. He says: "Its beginning and progress were filled with so many and great adversities and commotions that it cannot yet be known (he was writing in 731) what is to be said concerning them, or what end each of them will have."[2] In the appendix to Bede we read, under the year 731, that he was captured, tonsured, and then restored to the kingdom (*captus, adtonsus, et remissus in regnum*). It is interesting to note that the same year Acca resigned the Bishopric of Lindisfarne, apparently

[1] The pedigree in Florence is as follows: Ceolwulf, son of Cuthwine, son of Leodwald, son of Egwald, son of Edelm, son of Occ, son of Ida (*M.H.B.*, 632). This pedigree, it has not been observed, is not consistent with a much earlier document.

The last links of it, as given by Florence, are:—



This Eadberht or Ædbryht was the King of Northumbria who succeeded Ceolwulf, and who was the brother of Archbishop Ecgberht of York. Now the so-called Nennius, a very early and reputable authority, although he does not give us the ancestry of Ceolwulf, does give us that of Eadberht and his brother. He makes them the sons of Eata, who he styles "Eata Glin Maur" (*i.e.* Great Knee), the son of Liodguald. So far he agrees with the pedigree in Florence. He then proceeds, however, "who was the son of Ecgulf, who was the son of Eadric, who was the son of Ida" (*ib.* 75), which is entirely different to the statement of Florence. The authority of Nennius on such a point is, of course, paramount.

[2] *H.E.*, v. 23.

compulsorily, and it has been suggested that there was some connection between the two events, perhaps Acca had persuaded the King to be tonsured, and the nobles resented it.

It is curious to find these events referred to in the *Irish Annals*, where, however, we find Ceolwulf called by an entirely different name. Thus, in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 730, and in those of Tighernach in 731, we read, "Echdach (*i.e.* Eochaid), the son of Cuidin (*i.e.* Cuthwine), King of the Saxons, was tonsured (*clericatus*) and imprisoned (*constringitur*)." As Mr. Plummer says, it would seem that, like Aldfrid, Ceolwulf had an Irish name.[1] The capture and tonsuring of the King reads like some abstract from the dreary pages of later Merovingian history, and it clearly points to Northumbria having drifted into a state of utter decadence and become the victim of internal strife. According to Symeon of Durham, Ceolwulf's second and final renunciation of the throne took place in 737.[2] He ended his life as a monk at Lindisfarne. According to Reginald of Durham, when he settled at Lindisfarne he gave permission to the monks to drink wine and beer. Before his time they were wont to drink only milk or water, following the tradition of St. Aidan.[3] This statement seems very doubtful. Among other things

[1] Plummer, *Bede*, ii. 340.
[2] *H.R.*, Rolls ed., ii. 32.
[3] "Vit. S. Oswaldi," *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, i. 361.

it involved displacing the function of the abbot in a question of discipline by the Royal monk.

We read in the tenth-century document about Cuthberht and his possessions, that Ceolwulf was devoted to that Saint, and when he abdicated the throne, he, for the love of God, cut off his beard and was tonsured (*barbam deponit, coronam accepit*), and went to Lindisfarne with a great treasure (*cum magno thesauro*).[1]

Two very notable events occurred in Northumbria during the reign of Ceolwulf. One was the publication of Bede's *History*, which the great monk and scholar dedicated to that King in words which show the latter to have been a serious student if not a scholar. Bede addresses him as the most glorious King Ceolwulf, and says: "I formerly, at your request, most readily sent to you the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which I had lately published, that you might read

[1] *Inter alia*, he gave to St. Cuthberht his Royal treasures, with the districts of Bregesne and Wercworde. The former has been identified with Brainshaugh, in the parish of Warkworth on the Coquet. The latter, a famous place in later times, was bounded on the south by the river Lina from its source in the confines of Coquetdale as far as the sea, and so to Brinkburn on the north, by a line drawn from the mouth of the Aln to "the ancient street" midway between the Coquet and the Aln, and following the street to Brinkburn, thus including the entire valley from Brinkburn on the west to Hansley on the east. Beside Warkworth he also gave him the church he had built there, and the four vills of Wundecester, Hwittingaham, Eadulfingaham, and Ecwulfingham (Symeon, *Hist. Dun. Ec.*, ii. ch. 1). The first cannot be traced, the last three are now known as Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eglingham. Mr. Hole says all four are near Alnwick, and preserve in their modern ecclesiastical relations a memory of the distant past, and are all in the patronage of the see or the chapter of Durham (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 444).

it and give it your approbation, and I now send it again to be transcribed, and more fully considered at your leisure. I cannot but commend the sincerity and zeal with which you not only diligently give ear to the words of Holy Scripture, but also industriously take care to become acquainted with the actions and sayings of former men of renown, especially those of our own nation. For when history relates good things of good men, the attentive hearer is incited to imitate that which is good, and when it mentions evil things of evil persons the religious and pious hearer or reader, by shunning that which is hurtful and perverse is the more earnestly incited to perform those things which he knows to be good and worthy of God. You also, being most deeply sensible of this are desirous that the said history should be more fully made familiar not only to yourself, but also to those over whom the Divine authority has appointed you governor, from your great regard for their general good." Mr. Hole, commenting on this dedication, says: "Here we get a hint as to how such works were 'published' in those days, and we can imagine Bede's MS. going the round of courts and monasteries for the copies to be taken by those who desired to have them."[1]

The publication of Bede's great work was not the only remarkable event of Ceolwulf's reign. Another one was the creation of a second Archbishopric for the realm of England. Bede tells

[1] *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 443.

us, under the date 731, that "in Northumbria, where Ceolwulf now rules, there are four Bishops —Wilfrid at York, Ethelwald at Lindisfarne, Acca at Hexham, and Pecthelm at Whitherne (Candida Casa). Three years later Ecgbert, who was the first cousin of Ceolwulf, and the son of his uncle Eata, was elected to the see of York." Symeon says he had been placed in a monastery by his father Eata. Presently he visited Rome, where he obtained the Diaconate, with his brother Ecgrid. The latter died at Rome, whereupon Ecgberht returned to England, and "during Ceolwulf's reign, and by his request, he was the first who, since Paulinus, obtained the pall from the apostolic see, and was appointed Archbishop of the Northumbrian people." This was in 734. He held the post for thirty-two years.[1]

In the well-known letter written by Bede to the Archbishop just named, in which he sets out the grievances under which their nation suffered, and begs him to strive to the utmost of his ability to improve matters, he adds: "You have, I believe, a most ready coadjutor in so just an undertaking in King Ceolwulf, who has such an ingrafted love of religion that he will readily lend his assistance in whatever appertains to the rule of piety, and inasmuch as he is bound to you by the ties of relationship and affection he will the more readily carry out the good actions you have initiated. I pray you diligently to admonish him to reform the

[1] Symeon, *Hist. Dun. Ec.*, ii. 3.

position of things in the ecclesiastical affairs of the nation, so that it may be better than it has been before."

It was in Ceolwulf's reign, namely, in 735, that Bede died, and two years later the King finally entered a monastery. Bede, as we have seen, speaks highly of him in his letter to Ecgbert. He was the last of the Northumbrian kings before the Danish Conquest of whom the historian has anything very profitable to say. He died and was buried at Lindisfarne. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and *Symeon of Durham* this was in 760. He was treated as a saint, and his day in the *Acta Sanctorum* is the 15th of January.

When Bishop Ecgfrid, who died in 846, rebuilt the church at Norham (once known as Ubbanford), and which had been dedicated to St. Aidan,[1] he moved the remains of St. Cuthberht and St. Ceolwulf

[1] Reginald of Durham speaks of Norham as situated on the borders of Lothian (Lodoneia), on the Tweed, adding that according to old histories it was founded before the time of St. Cuthberht. It was close to a hill of great height and length called Munegedene, where by divine wrath, as a punishment for the ill-usage of St. Cuthberht's territory by the Scots, and on his appeal, a huge chasm was formed in which many thousands of the invaders were engulfed and "swept to hell" like Dathan and Abiram. Reginald says that miracles were still performed there in his time. He adds that there was a school kept in the church there, which was an old church dedicated to St. Cuthberht. In this, "after the fashion now common (*de more nunc satis solito et cognito*), boys were taught their studies, in some cases induced by a love of knowledge and in others, says our playful monk, induced by a more potent motive (*timore verberum saevientc magistro coacti*) 'by which a swish' is clearly indicated." One of the scholars who was called Haldene (! ! !) knowing he was to be punished for his idleness, threw the key of the church into the Tweed at a place called Padduwel (now Pedivel or Peddle), a well-known fishing station on the river. The key was presently

thither, and rededicated the church to them. After they had travelled far and wide about the country the head of the latter was removed to Durham, where it performed many miracles.[1] Among the relics preserved at Durham, and mentioned in Segbrok's register, we find the item—"The scull of St. Ceolwulf the King, and afterwards monk."[2] His name occurs in the *Liber Vitae*.

found sticking in the throat of a salmon of great size, caught in a fisherman's net. "It is still held in high honour at Norham in memory of the miracle," says Reginald (*Reg. Dun. Libellus*, ch. 72).

[1] "Vit. St. Oswaldi," in the third Appendix to the Rolls series of *Symeon of Durham*, i. 361.

[2] *St. Cuthberht*, by Raine, p. 12.

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